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COLLECTION

PARLIAMENTARY

DEBATES

ENGLAND,

THE YEAR MDCCLXXIII

To the present Time

VOL. XVII

Printed in the Year MDCCLXXIII

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A
COLLECTION
OF THE
PARLIAMENTARY
DEBATES
IN
ENGLAND,

FROM
The YEAR M,DC,LXVIII

To the present TIME.

VOL. XVIII.

Printed in the Year, M,DCC,XLI.

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Parliamen-

Parliamentary DEBATES.

TUESDAY the 6th of *March*, the house of Commons resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into their consideration the convention, and as soon as *Francis Fane*, Esq; the chairman appointed for that committee, had taken the chair, they began to hear the merchants, and examine witnesses, which took up their time till *Thursday*, when *Horatio Walpole*, Esq; stood up, and spoke to this effect;

Convention
taken into
consideration
in the house
of Com-
mons.

‘ Mr. *Fane*,
‘ Sir, When any treaty of peace or alliance
‘ is, by the King’s order, laid before Parlia-
‘ ment, it is a custom so long established, and a
‘ custom that has been so constantly observed,
‘ to present an address of thanks upon every
‘ such occasion, that I should have thought it
‘ quite unnecessary to say any thing in favour of
‘ the motion I am to make, if more than ordi-
‘ nary pains had not been taken to render peo-
‘ ple dissatisfied with the treaty now under our
‘ consideration. It is this that has occasioned
‘ the presenting of so many petitions against it;
‘ and it is this that makes me think it neces-
‘ sary, to endeavour to remove those prejudices
‘ that have been so artfully and so industriously
‘ raised among all degrees of men, before I
‘ make

Mr. *Wal-*
pole’s speech
and motion
upon this oc-
casion.

‘ make that motion with which I intend to
‘ conclude.

‘ I shall begin, Sir, with this general obser-
‘ vation, that when differences arise between two
‘ nations, an immediate declaration of war sel-
‘ dom is, and never ought to be the first reso-
‘ lution of either. If those differences proceed
‘ from any dispute about a matter of right, jus-
‘ tice and humanity require, that endeavours
‘ should be used to have those disputes deter-
‘ mined in a peaceable way, by the true and in-
‘ fallible rules of reason, before recourse be had
‘ to the deceitful and uncertain fortune of war;
‘ and if they relate to injuries done, or violences
‘ committed, the same justice and humanity re-
‘ quire that satisfaction should be ask’d, in an
‘ amicable manner, by the party offended, and
‘ peremptorily denied, or unreasonably delayed,
‘ by the party offending, before hostilities are
‘ resolved on. Even the greatest affront that
‘ can be put upon, or the greatest injury that
‘ can be done to one nation, by the subjects of
‘ another, ought to be complained of before it
‘ is revenged; because the honour of no nation
‘ can be injured but by some publick or national
‘ act in another; therefore, when any injury is
‘ done, or affront given, by the subjects of one
‘ state to those of another, the state whose sub-
‘ jects have been injured, ought to apply to the
‘ other for satisfaction, and ought not to look
‘ upon its honour as any way affected, till the
‘ state, whose subjects committed the violence,
‘ has made the act of its subjects its own, by re-
‘ fusing to punish the transgressors, or to make
‘ reparation for the damage sustained.

‘ This, Sir, is what justice and humanity re-
‘ quire, and what is just and humane, must be
‘ honourable. Therefore when, upon applica-
‘ tion, there appears a probability that all dif-
‘ ferences

‘ferences may be settled and adjusted by amicable means, while that probability lasts, it would be unjust, it would be barbarous, and consequently dishonourable, to have recourse to arms. Ambition or interest may prompt some nations to make conquests, and such nations may, and do often break through this established rule of justice and true honour, by laying hold of the most frivolous pretence for engaging in war, without any previous application for an accommodation. But as it is not the interest of this nation to make conquests, and as, I hope, our ambition will never provoke us to act contrary to our interest, we can therefore have no motive for transgressing this rule, with regard to the differences that may arise between us and any nation in *Europe*.

‘Upon this maxim, Sir, and in this light, if we consider the treaty now before us, I believe it will appear to be not only a just and honourable measure, but the only just and honourable measure we could take, with regard to the differences now subsisting between us and *Spain*; some of which are such as proceed from disputes that have lately arisen about matters of right, and the rest are such as proceed from the violences and depredations that have been committed by some of the subjects of that kingdom against the subjects of this. As the matters of right which are in dispute, are of great consequence to us, as *Spain* had little or no reason to raise any dispute about them, and as their depredations have been great and frequent, if it had been our interest to endeavour to conquer any part of the *Spanish* dominions, or if his Majesty had been influenced by ambition, and a pursuit after a glaring but false renown, he might, and probably would have laid hold of these differences, as a just pre-

tence for declaring war against *Spain*, without
 the least attempt to have them reconciled by
 amicable means; but as it is not the interest
 of this nation to make conquests, his Majesty
 considered the peace and happiness of his peo-
 ple as the most solid foundations of his glory;
 therefore, he often applied, before last sum-
 mer, to the court of *Spain*, for having the dif-
 ferences subsisting between the two nations ac-
 commodated in a friendly manner, which that
 court always found some excuse or another for
 delaying; but at last his Majesty, upon the
 application from both houses of Parliament
 last session, made a peremptory demand, and
 insisted upon a speedy and categorical answer;
 and till that answer should arrive, his Majesty
 resolved, according to the maxim I have men-
 tioned, and according to the advice of his
 Parliament, to suspend the effects of his in-
 dignation. When the court of *Spain* saw that
 the affair could be no longer put off with
 safety, they appeared willing to enter imme-
 diately into a serious disquisition of the rights
 that were in dispute; and as those rights were
 of such a nature that they could not be in a
 short time fully examined into and finally de-
 termined, to shew they were in earnest, they
 proposed to have the account between the two
 nations, for reparation of damages sustained
 on each side, immediately settled, and to pay,
 in a short time, whatever should appear to be
 due upon the balance. From hence his Ma-
 jesty justly conceived, that there was a proba-
 bility of having all our differences accommo-
 dated, and therefore, he could not in justice
 or honour commence hostilities, or refuse to
 accept of a preliminary convention, by which
 we were to obtain satisfaction for all past inju-
 ries, and by which we were to be put into the
 most

A. 1739. D E B A T E S.

‘ most probable method, nay, the only method
 ‘ that could be proposed, for obtaining, in a
 ‘ short time, a full security against all future.

‘ To this I must add, Sir, that his Majesty’s
 ‘ agreeing to this preliminary convention, and
 ‘ resolving to suspend hostilities, till he should
 ‘ see what effect this preliminary might pro-
 ‘ duce, was not only the justest and the most
 ‘ honourable measure he could pursue, but it
 ‘ was agreeable to, and in some measure a ne-
 ‘ cessary consequence of, the advice given him
 ‘ last session by both houses of Parliament. By
 ‘ the addresses presented last session upon occa-
 ‘ sion of our differences with *Spain*, his Majesty
 ‘ was advised to use his royal endeavours with
 ‘ his Catholick Majesty, to obtain effectual relief
 ‘ for his injured subjects; and assured, that in
 ‘ case his royal and friendly instances, for pro-
 ‘ curing justice, and for the future security of
 ‘ that navigation and commerce, which his peo-
 ‘ ple had an undoubted right to, by treaties and
 ‘ the law of nations, should not be able to pro-
 ‘ cure, from the equity and friendship of the
 ‘ King of *Spain*, such satisfaction, as his Ma-
 ‘ jesty might reasonably expect from a good and
 ‘ faithfully ally, the Parliament would effectually
 ‘ support his Majesty in taking such measures,
 ‘ as honour and justice should make it necessary
 ‘ for him to pursue. From these words, the
 ‘ advice of Parliament plainly appears to have
 ‘ been, that his Majesty should first try what
 ‘ could be done by peaceable means, and that
 ‘ in case he could, by such means, procure such
 ‘ satisfaction, that is to say, such reparation for
 ‘ past injuries, and such security for our naviga-
 ‘ tion and commerce in time to come, as he
 ‘ could reasonably expect from a good and faith-
 ‘ ful ally, he should avoid engaging the nation
 ‘ in a war with *Spain*. Now, Sir, if by this

‘ convention his Majesty has got such repara-
‘ tion, and such security, as he could reasonably
‘ expect, it must be allowed, that his refusing
‘ to accept of it, would have been acting di-
‘ rectly against the advice given him by Parlia-
‘ ment; and that we have got as much repara-
‘ tion, and as much security, as any reasonable
‘ man could expect by a preliminary convention,
‘ I shall now endeavour to shew.

‘ With regard to reparation, Sir, for past in-
‘ juries, it is not only finally adjusted, but a cer-
‘ tain sum promised to be paid within a very
‘ short time after the exchange of the ratifica-
‘ tions. As there were mutual demands, with
‘ respect to damages sustained, it became neces-
‘ sary to settle and balance the account; for I
‘ am sure no reasonable man could expect, that
‘ we should receive full reparation for all the
‘ damage done to us by *Spain*, and allow no-
‘ thing for the damage that had been done by
‘ us to that nation. Upon examining therefore
‘ into, and stating our mutual demands, it ap-
‘ peared that our demands upon *Spain*, accord-
‘ ing to a calculation made by our own commis-
‘ saries, amounted to 200,000*l.* and that the de-
‘ mands of *Spain* upon us amounted to 60,000 *l.*
‘ so that there was a balance due to us of
‘ 140,000 *l.* which sum his Catholick Majesty
‘ proposed to pay to us, by giving assignments
‘ upon his revenues in *America*, being the only
‘ means he had for paying so large a sum; but
‘ as we knew the tediousness and precariousness
‘ of that fund, it was proposed to make an al-
‘ lowance for prompt payment, if his Catholick
‘ Majesty would engage to pay the money in a
‘ short time here at *London*, and the allowance
‘ agreed on was 45,000 *l.* which reduced the
‘ sum due to us to 95,000 *l.* and this sum his
‘ Catholick Majesty has expressly promised, by
‘ this

‘ this convention, to pay here at *London*, in four
‘ months after the exchange of the ratifications.
‘ From hence it appears, Sir, that we have not
‘ only got all the reparation any reasonable man
‘ could expect, but all the reparation we could,
‘ with any pretence of justice, insist on. For
‘ tho’ there were perhaps some other small arti-
‘ cles, which we might have added to the sum
‘ of our demands, yet it must be allowed, they
‘ were such trifles, such *minuties*, as not to be
‘ worth minding in a transaction between two
‘ powerful nations; and if we had insisted on
‘ them, it would have been easy for *Spain* to
‘ have balanced them with articles of the same
‘ kind, which were not at first brought in to her
‘ account.

‘ Now, Sir, as to our future security, every
‘ man that understands what it means, must
‘ know, that it depends intirely upon those mat-
‘ ters of right that are now in dispute between
‘ *Spain* and us; and that therefore it cannot be
‘ clearly and effectually provided for, till those
‘ rights are particularly examined into, and fully
‘ explained. But could any reasonable man ex-
‘ pect, that it was possible to do this in a few
‘ weeks, or by a preliminary convention? It is
‘ a discussion that depends not only upon several
‘ disputable points in the law of nature and na-
‘ tions, but likewise upon several facts and cir-
‘ cumstances that must be inquired into, and this
‘ inquiry can be made in the *West-Indies* only.
‘ For this reason we could not so much as desire
‘ *Spain* to do more than they have done. They
‘ have agreed to refer this discussion to pleni-
‘ potentiaries, and that those plenipotentiaries
‘ should be obliged finally to decide the affair
‘ within the short term of eight months; which
‘ is all we could expect, and all we could with
‘ any justice or reason desire. Therefore, if

‘ there had not been one word in this treaty,
 ‘ from whence it could be presumed that *Spain*
 ‘ had passed from, or given up any of those
 ‘ rights she has lately set up, yet the treaty
 ‘ might have been said to be a good prelimi-
 ‘ nary, and such a one as his Majesty ought to
 ‘ have accepted of, rather than engage the na-
 ‘ tion in a war. But this is not the case: The
 ‘ principal right *Spain* pretends to, and the most
 ‘ destructive right for this nation to submit to,
 ‘ is that of searching our ships on the open seas
 ‘ of *America*, and making prize of them, in case
 ‘ any *Spanish* money or effects be found on board.
 ‘ This right *Spain* has, even by this preliminary,
 ‘ in effect given up. That of searching our
 ‘ ships upon the open seas, they have allowed
 ‘ to be a cause of complaint, which, if not put
 ‘ a stop to and prevented, might occasion an o-
 ‘ pen rupture between the two crowns: They
 ‘ have allowed it to be a grievance, which ought
 ‘ to be removed. Can the exercise of a just
 ‘ right be allowed to be a cause of complaint?
 ‘ Can it be allowed to be a grievance? Who-
 ‘ ever does so, disclaims the right; and there-
 ‘ fore we must conclude, that *Spain* has, even by
 ‘ this preliminary, in effect disclaimed the right
 ‘ of searching our ships upon the open seas of
 ‘ *America*, which to me is a strong indication,
 ‘ that they intend to disclaim it by the defini-
 ‘ tive treaty, in the most express terms we can
 ‘ propose.

‘ Sir, the court of *Spain* have not only ac-
 ‘ knowledged the searching our ships on the
 ‘ open seas, and confiscating them for having
 ‘ *Spanish* money or effects on board, to be a
 ‘ grievance which ought to be removed, but
 ‘ they have in some measure directly owned it
 ‘ to be wrong: They have allowed it to be an
 ‘ injury, by giving us reparation for what our
 ‘ mer-

‘ merchants have suffered by that practice.
‘ Therefore, the plenipotentiaries appointed by
‘ this convention are not to determine, whether
‘ it be a grievance or not; this is a point which
‘ is not referred to their discussion; it is already
‘ determined: They are only to consider, con-
‘ trive, and adjust the proper methods for re-
‘ moving it; and in this too they are circum-
‘ scribed; for the regulations they contrive and
‘ agree on for this purpose, must be according
‘ to the treaties now subsisting between the two
‘ crowns; and those regulations must be contri-
‘ ved and fully settled within eight months after
‘ their first meeting, which is to be but six
‘ weeks after the exchange of the ratifications;
‘ so that the affair must be finally concluded be-
‘ fore the middle of *November* next. Therefore
‘ the chief question now seems to be, whether we
‘ ought to go to war rather than grant the court
‘ of *Spain* a delay of eight months, for giving
‘ us full satisfaction and absolute security; and
‘ I do not think, that any man who considers
‘ the present circumstances of *Europe*, or the
‘ present circumstances of this nation, would be
‘ for involving his country in a dangerous and
‘ expensive war, rather than grant such a delay.

‘ War, Sir, let the prospect of success be
‘ what it will, is both a dangerous and a de-
‘ structive expedient to any nation, especially a
‘ trading and industrious nation: It is the bane
‘ of trade, and the parent of idleness. It gives
‘ your neighbours an opportunity to undermine
‘ you in several branches of your trade, and
‘ draws a great many of your own people away
‘ from useful labour and industry, not only du-
‘ ring the war, but for ever; for those who
‘ have been, for but a few years, accustomed to
‘ live in idleness, by rapine and violence, can
‘ never afterwards submit to get their bread by
‘ the

‘ the sweat of their brow. Besides, it may
‘ prove dangerous to your liberties: For sup-
‘ porting and carrying on a war with vigour,
‘ great armies must be raised: When the war is
‘ ended, you may, perhaps, find it difficult to
‘ disband your armies: The generals will be a-
‘ gainst it, and the soldiers having lost the hopes
‘ of living by the plunder of their enemies, may
‘ resolve to live by the plunder of their country.
‘ War, therefore, even with the most flattering
‘ prospect of success, ought to be avoided by a
‘ trading, free country, if possible. The event
‘ is doubtful, let the hopes of either party at
‘ the beginning be never so well founded. It is
‘ not the first time we have heard of the event
‘ of a war’s turning out contrary to all human
‘ appearances. We have a fresh instance of this
‘ before our eyes. All *Europe* thought the Em-
‘ peror engaged in the present war against the
‘ *Turks* with great odds of his side; but we find
‘ ourselves disappointed in our expectations; the
‘ odds are already turned against him, and little
‘ hopes left of his coming off with honour,
‘ much less with advantage.

‘ Whoever considers these things, Sir, must
‘ think, that if the circumstances of affairs in
‘ *Europe* were intirely favourable for us, if our
‘ own circumstances were as happy as we could
‘ wish, we ought not wantonly to engage in a
‘ war; but when we consider, that the circum-
‘ stances of *Europe* were never in a more unhap-
‘ py situation for us than at present, and that
‘ our own circumstances are far from being in a
‘ happy situation, who is it will say, a war is
‘ not by all means to be avoided? The powerful
‘ kingdom of *France* is now in greater vigour
‘ than ever it was since the reign of their *Charles*
‘ the Great; it is now governed by wise coun-
‘ sels, and in perfect unity and concord within
‘ itself.

‘ itself. The King of *France* is bound, not
‘ only by interest, but by the ties of blood, to
‘ assist the King of *Spain*; and as an addition
‘ to this obligation, there is now forming, for
‘ what I know, already concluded, a treaty of
‘ alliance between them. If we declare war a-
‘ gainst *Spain*, we must therefore expect that
‘ *France* will take part with *Spain* against us;
‘ and though I have so good an opinion of my
‘ country, as to think we are more than a match
‘ for the one, and at least an equal match for
‘ the other, yet I cannot be so vain as to think,
‘ we are an equal match for both; and conse-
‘ quently, I must think, we have reason to be
‘ afraid of our sinking under the burden, unless
‘ we can get some of the other great powers of
‘ *Europe* to assist us.

‘ Let us now look round *Europe*, Sir, and we
‘ shall find with regret, there is not at present
‘ any one of the powers thereof, on whom we
‘ could, in such a case, depend for an effectual
‘ assistance. The house of *Austria* is now in so
‘ weak a condition, and so much reduced by the
‘ misfortunes they have met with in their war
‘ against the *Turks*, that they could not, if they
‘ would, afford us any assistance; and if they
‘ could, it is a question if they would; for their
‘ counsels seem at present to be too much di-
‘ rected by *French* influence. The *Dutch* are at
‘ present in a poor and helpless situation; for
‘ tho’ the subjects of most of the United Pro-
‘ vinces are rich, and in affluent circumstances,
‘ their government is extremely low, and almost
‘ all their publick revenues mortgaged or antici-
‘ pated; which makes them so backward to en-
‘ gage in war, that tho’ they have met with as
‘ bad treatment from *Spain* as we have done,
‘ tho’ as many *Dutch* ships, in proportion, have
‘ been unjustly seized by the *Spaniards*, as there
‘ have

‘ have been of *English*; yet they have never yet
‘ attempted, nor do they seem to have the least
‘ inclination to resent these injuries in any hos-
‘ tile manner. The Princes of *Germany* are now
‘ contending amongst themselves about the suc-
‘ cession to some parts of the Palatinate; and
‘ that contention may perhaps break out into an
‘ open rupture. Of the Princes of *Italy*, the
‘ two most potent may probably be engaged in
‘ the alliance against us; and the King of *Por-*
‘ *tugal* dares not assist us, I even doubt, if he
‘ would dare to admit our men of war into his
‘ ports. Then, Sir, if we look northward, of
‘ the two northern kingdoms, the most power-
‘ ful seems already to be united against us; and
‘ the *Muscovites*, if they were inclined, are at
‘ too great a distance to afford us any relief.
‘ Thus, Sir, we are at present without one ally
‘ upon the continent, that would give us assis-
‘ tance, and in case of a war, the two most po-
‘ tent kingdoms in *Europe* would probably be
‘ united against us: Nay, I do not know, but
‘ that the greatest part of *Europe* would unite
‘ against us; and when the affairs of *Europe* are
‘ in such circumstances, would it not be the
‘ height of madness in us to engage in war, if
‘ we can by any art, or by any means, avoid or
‘ delay it?

‘ But this, Sir, is not our only misfortune at
‘ present: Our domestick circumstances are far
‘ from being in such a condition as may encou-
‘ rage us to engage in war. Our people are al-
‘ ready taxed almost as much as they can possibly
‘ bear; and most of those taxes mortgaged for
‘ paying the debts we contracted in the late war:
‘ The overplus of our publick revenue is hardly
‘ sufficient for supporting our civil government
‘ in time of peace. If we go to war, we must
‘ lay on new or additional taxes: This will in-
‘ crease

‘ crease those animosities and divisions that now
‘ prevail too much amongst us; and will cause
‘ that party to raise its head, which has not da-
‘ red to look up for near twenty years past. If
‘ we go to war, our enemies will certainly en-
‘ deavour to bring us into confusion at home,
‘ by embracing the cause of the Pretender: The
‘ war itself will be made the cause of the Pre-
‘ tender; and when our people find every year
‘ new loads of taxes laid upon them, many of
‘ them may begin to ascribe all the misfortunes
‘ they labour under, to the Illustrious Family
‘ now upon our throne, which will make them
‘ ready to join any number of foreign troops
‘ that shall invade us, with the Pretender at
‘ their head. If *France* and *Spain* should join
‘ against us, it will be impossible for us to guard
‘ our coasts, by means of our navy, so closely,
‘ as that it may not be in their power to throw
‘ a few regular troops into some part of the
‘ island; and this might give us so much to do
‘ at home, that we should neither have leisure
‘ nor power to distress our enemies, or protect
‘ our plantations abroad.

‘ I have as just a sense as any man can have,
‘ of the sufferings of our merchants, and of the
‘ indignities that have been put upon the nation,
‘ by the *Spanish Guarda Costa's*; but national re-
‘ solutions, Sir, ought not to be directed by
‘ passion: We may, we ought to shew a proper
‘ resentment; but our resentment ought to be
‘ governed by prudence; and if it is, we must
‘ suspend shewing it, till a change in the cir-
‘ cumstances of *Europe* presents us with a favour-
‘ able opportunity, which, in all probability, we
‘ shall not be long obliged to wait for. There-
‘ fore, if this convention had not been so fa-
‘ vourable as it appears to be, his Majesty ought,
‘ I think, in the present conjuncture, to have ac-
‘ cepted

‘ cepted of it. This is the opinion I must form,
‘ from the view I have of the present posture of
‘ affairs, and from circumstances that are pub-
‘ lickly known; but his Majesty may know
‘ many circumstances which we do not know,
‘ which he cannot communicate to this house;
‘ and therefore in such cases, we ought to be
‘ extremely cautious of refusing our approbation
‘ to a measure, which his Majesty has thought
‘ fit to approve of. Such a caution would have
‘ been necessary, even tho’ this convention had
‘ appeared to have been altogether unsatisfac-
‘ tory; but I have shewn, I think, that we have
‘ got by it all that could be reasonably ex-
‘ pected by a preliminary treaty; from whence
‘ we have good reason to hope, that in eight
‘ months time we shall obtain, by a definitive
‘ treaty, all we can desire, which is a delay, I
‘ am sure, not worth our while to go to war
‘ for. Therefore, Sir, I must think I am fully
‘ warranted in what I am to propose, which is,
‘ That an humble address be presented to his
‘ Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of
‘ this house, for having been graciously pleased
‘ to communicate to this house the convention,
‘ together with the separate articles lately con-
‘ cluded between his Majesty and the King of
‘ *Spain*; to express our most grateful acknow-
‘ ledgments for his Majesty’s particular care and
‘ tender regard for the interests of his people,
‘ in having obtained by the said convention a
‘ final adjustment of their long depending de-
‘ mands for the losses they had sustained, and an
‘ express stipulation for a payment to be made
‘ them in a short time upon that account; to
‘ declare our satisfaction in the foundation which
‘ his Majesty has laid for preventing and remo-
‘ ving the like grievances and causes of com-
‘ plaint for the future, and for preserving the
‘ peace

‘ peace between the two nations, and our reli-
 ‘ ance on his Majesty, that from his constant at-
 ‘ tention to the honour of his crown, and the
 ‘ undoubted rights of his people, effectual care
 ‘ will be taken in the solemn treaty to be made
 ‘ pursuant to this convention, that the freedom
 ‘ of navigation in the *American* seas may be
 ‘ fully secured and established for the future,
 ‘ and that his Majesty’s subjects may enjoy un-
 ‘ molested, their undoubted right of navigating
 ‘ and trading to and from any part of his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s dominions, without being liable to be
 ‘ stopped, visited, or searched on the open seas,
 ‘ or to any other violation of the treaties subsist-
 ‘ ing between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, as the
 ‘ only means to preserve upon a lasting founda-
 ‘ tion a good correspondence and friendship be-
 ‘ tween the two crowns, and that in regulating
 ‘ and settling the limits of his Majesty’s domi-
 ‘ nions in *America*, in the treaty to be made
 ‘ with *Spain*, the greatest regard will be had to
 ‘ the rights and possessions belonging to his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s crown and subjects; and to assure his
 ‘ Majesty, that in case his Majesty’s just expect-
 ‘ tations shall not be answered, this house will,
 ‘ with the greatest zeal and chearfulness, sup-
 ‘ port his Majesty in taking such measures as
 ‘ shall be necessary to vindicate his Majesty’s ho-
 ‘ nour, and to maintain his subjects in the full
 ‘ enjoyment of all those rights, which they may
 ‘ justly claim by treaty, and the law of na-
 ‘ tions.’

John Campbell of *Pembrokeshire*, Esq; stood up
 next, and spoke thus:

‘ Mr. Fane,
 ‘ Sir, I stand up to second the motion which
 ‘ the honourable gentleman near me has been
 ‘ pleased

*Mr. Camp-
 bell's speech.*

‘ pleased to make ; and I second it, because, I
‘ think, the necessary consequence of our not
‘ agreeing to it, would be an immediate war.
‘ Now, as I think we have got by this conven-
‘ tion, as much as we could expect by a preli-
‘ minary article ; for with respect to our future
‘ security it can be called nothing else, nor was
‘ it possible in so short a time to make it any
‘ thing else ; and, as I think, that the court of
‘ *Spain*’s agreeing to this convention, especially
‘ that part of it which stipulates an immediate
‘ reparation, furnishes us with a strong presump-
‘ tion, that they are inclined to do us justice,
‘ and that we shall in a short time, obtain suf-
‘ ficient security for the freedom of our trade
‘ and navigation in time to come ; therefore, I
‘ must think a war quite unnecessary, and no
‘ war can be just that is not necessary, nor can
‘ any war be honourable that is not just.

‘ This consideration, Sir, convinces me, that
‘ we ought to approve of this convention ; and
‘ my honourable friend has taken care to put
‘ some words or expressions into the address he
‘ has been pleased to propose, which, in my o-
‘ pinion, will obviate the only material objec-
‘ tion I have heard made to this treaty. Our
‘ merchants seem to think, that our rights and
‘ possessions in *America* are not sufficiently se-
‘ cured to us by the terms of this preliminary ;
‘ and therefore they apprehend, that some of
‘ them are to be given up by our plenipotentii-
‘ aries. These apprehensions, I think, there can
‘ be no ground for, from any word or expression
‘ in this preliminary, nor can any man entertain
‘ such a thought, if he considers the inviolable
‘ attachment his Majesty has always shewn for
‘ the rights and privileges of his people, and
‘ that our plenipotentaries can do nothing with-
‘ out his order, nor finally agree upon any thing
‘ without

‘ without his approbation ; but if it were possi-
‘ ble to apprehend, that any of our rights or
‘ possessions are in danger of being lost, or
‘ given up by the definitive treaty, that is to
‘ be concluded in pursuance of this prelimi-
‘ nary, even that possibility must be taken a-
‘ way, by our declaring, in the address pro-
‘ posed, our reliance on his Majesty, that from
‘ his constant attention to the honour of his
‘ crown, and the undoubted rights of his peo-
‘ ple, effectual care will be taken, that the free-
‘ dom of navigation in the *American* seas may
‘ be fully secured and established for the future ;
‘ and that in regulating and settling the limits
‘ of his Majesty’s dominions in *America*, the
‘ greatest regard will be had to the rights and
‘ possessions belonging to his Majesty’s crown
‘ and subjects.

‘ By these words, I say, Sir, the very possi-
‘ bility of apprehending any danger to our rights
‘ or possessions, must be effectually removed ;
‘ for after such a full and explicit declaration of
‘ Parliament, what minister will dare to advise
‘ his Majesty to give any instructions, or to ra-
‘ tify any treaty, for giving up, or incroaching
‘ in the least upon, any of our rights or posses-
‘ sions in *America* ? Therefore, I think, no one
‘ good reason can be assigned for our refusing to
‘ give such an approbation to this convention,
‘ as the honourable gentleman has been pleased
‘ to propose ; for really, in my opinion, it looks
‘ more like a declaration of what we expect by
‘ the solemn treaty that is to be concluded, than
‘ an approbation of the preliminary that has
‘ been already concluded.’

The next that spoke was Sir *Thomas Saunderson*, the purport of whose speech was as follows :

Mr. *Fane*,

Sir *Thomas*
Saunderson's
speech.

‘ Sir, The great design, and the chief use of
‘ Parliaments, is, to present to our Sovereign
‘ the opinions, as well as grievances of the peo-
‘ ple ; and this house in particular is designed
‘ as a check upon ministers, and as a sort of
‘ mirror, in which the counsels, the actions,
‘ and the measures of ministers, are to be truly
‘ and faithfully represented to their Master. In
‘ absolute monarchies the King can never know,
‘ by any legal means, whether the measures he
‘ is advised by his ministers to pursue, be agree-
‘ able or disagreeable to his people : He can ne-
‘ ver be informed of their being disagreeable,
‘ but by the insurrections or rebellions of the
‘ people, which generally end in the destruction
‘ of a great many subjects, and often in the ruin
‘ of the Sovereign. This is a misfortune that
‘ in this kingdom we shall always be free from,
‘ while we have Parliaments, and such Parlia-
‘ ments as are independent of the administra-
‘ tion. But if ever our Parliaments should come
‘ to be under the direction of the minister, for
‘ the time being, they would be useless, they
‘ would be pernicious ; because they would be
‘ made use of only for imposing upon the King
‘ with the greater assurance, and for oppressing
‘ the people with the greater security. There-
‘ fore, I hope, that in this house we shall upon
‘ all occasions talk to our King, not in the lan-
‘ guage of his ministers, but in the language
‘ of truth, in the language of his people. For
‘ this reason, while I have the honour to have
‘ a seat here, I shall never join in any address to
‘ the throne, that may in the least contribute to-
‘ wards

wards inducing my Sovereign to form such an opinion of any publick measure, as may be contrary to the opinion I have, upon a thorough enquiry, formed of it, and contrary to the opinion which, I know, the people in general have formed of it. The convention now before us is, in my opinion, the most dishonourable, the most deceitful, the most ruinous treaty, this nation ever made; I will be bold to say, that ninety-nine out of a hundred of the people are of the same opinion; and shall I agree to an address, which must make the King believe, if he believes what we say, that it is an honourable, fair, and advantageous treaty?

The honourable gentleman and his friends may, if they please, Sir, call the latter part of the address he has proposed, a declaration of what we expect by the solemn treaty that is to be concluded; but the first part is a downright approbation of this convention; and is therefore inconsistent with the latter; for it would, in my opinion, be ridiculous in us to say, we expect or hope for any thing from a solemn treaty that is to be concluded in pursuance of a preliminary, by which every thing we have to expect or hope for, is previously given up, and almost expressly surrendered. Out of the regard I have, and, I hope, shall always have for his Majesty, I must, in examining the address proposed, leave his name out, and substitute in its room, the name or term minister, or negotiator. Shall I, Sir, upon occasion of this convention, express my most grateful acknowledgments for the minister's, or negotiator's particular care, and tender regard for the interests of the people, when I think that in negotiating and agreeing to this convention, he has shewn no care, no

‘ regard for, but on the contrary, has sacrificed,
‘ I shall not say betrayed, the most valuable,
‘ the most sacred rights of his country? Shall I
‘ say, that a final adjustment of our long de-
‘ pending demands has been obtained by this
‘ convention, when I see, that instead of ad-
‘ justing, we have released them? Shall I say,
‘ that any payment is to be made by *Spain* upon
‘ that account, when it appears that *Spain* is
‘ not to pay one single groat, when it appears
‘ that not one shilling is so much as stipulated;
‘ but what is to be paid by one part of our
‘ own subjects to another? Or shall I say, I am
‘ satisfied with the foundation, the minister or
‘ negotiator has laid, for preventing the like
‘ grievances and causes of complaint for the fu-
‘ ture, when I am convinced that, by this con-
‘ vention, a foundation is laid for increasing
‘ them, and for rendering them perpetual? God
‘ forbid, Sir, that any member of this house
‘ should behave in such a slavish manner towards
‘ the minister, or in such a deceitful manner to-
‘ wards his Sovereign.

‘ I shall allow, Sir, that when differences arise
‘ between two nations, war ought not to be re-
‘ solved on, till application be first made for
‘ having them removed by a friendly accom-
‘ modation; but that application ought to be
‘ made in an honourable manner, and suitable
‘ to the dignity of the nation that makes it.
‘ If the matters of right that are begun to be
‘ disputed, be such as are really doubtful, a ne-
‘ gotiation may be set on foot for having them
‘ explained; but to dispute the most undoubted
‘ rights, rights that are established by the law of
‘ nature, as well as by particular treaties, is one
‘ of the greatest insults that can be put by one
‘ nation upon another; and therefore, the only
‘ application that can be made, is a peremptory
‘ demand

‘ demand for having them acknowledged in the
‘ most explicit terms: To negotiate, or to treat
‘ about such rights, is to betray them. Again,
‘ when violences are committed by the subjects
‘ of one nation, upon those of another, satisfac-
‘ tion may be demanded, nay, I shall grant,
‘ that it ought to be demanded in a peaceable
‘ manner, before resolving to take satisfaction
‘ by force of arms; but this satisfaction ought
‘ to be required, not sued for; and much less
‘ sued for again and again, after many affected
‘ delays or sham excuses: To require satisfaction
‘ in a peaceable but dignified manner, is pru-
‘ dent, is commendable; but to sue and solicit
‘ for it, is mean, abject, and dishonourable;
‘ and when a nation continues to sue for it, un-
‘ der frequent repetitions of the same sort of vi-
‘ olences, it is ridiculous, it is mischievous.

‘ This, I am afraid, Sir, is our case with re-
‘ gard to *Spain*: We have negotiated about our
‘ undoubted rights, we have sued for satisfac-
‘ tion, and have so long continued suing, while
‘ they continued violating, that we have at last
‘ rendered ourselves ridiculous and contemptible.
‘ In this opinion I am confirmed by the treaty
‘ now under our consideration: A treaty which
‘ they seem to have imposed upon us, as the *coup*
‘ *de grace* to that character we formerly had a-
‘ mong the princes and potentates of *Europe*.
‘ After disputing with us such undoubted rights,
‘ and committing so many and such unheard-of
‘ depredations upon our merchants, if they had
‘ not had the utmost contempt of our under-
‘ standing, as well as power, it was impossible
‘ they could have thought of imposing such a
‘ treaty upon us: A treaty by which they have,
‘ under the pretence of giving us a foundation
‘ for obtaining future security, obliged us to
‘ give up those rights upon which it depends,

‘ and instead of giving us reparation, they have
 ‘ obliged us to give them a general release ; nay
 ‘ farther, they have obliged us to give up to
 ‘ them, for much less than the true value, five
 ‘ *British* ships and their cargoes, which they had,
 ‘ before this treaty was thought of, obliged
 ‘ themselves to restore. If they had given us a
 ‘ flat denial ; if they had absolutely refused to
 ‘ give us any security or reparation, it would
 ‘ have been shewing a contempt of our power
 ‘ only ; but to presume to palm upon us such a
 ‘ sham security, and such a fallacious sort of re-
 ‘ paration, is shewing the utmost contempt of
 ‘ our judgment, as well as our power. As yet
 ‘ the contempt can fall upon our negotiators on-
 ‘ ly ; but if this house should give any thing
 ‘ like a sanction to such a treaty, the contempt
 ‘ must fall upon the nation, or at least upon that
 ‘ which is called the wisdom of the nation.

‘ In order, Sir, to make good what I have
 ‘ said, I must beg leave to consider what we
 ‘ ought to have had, and whether we have got,
 ‘ by this treaty, so much as the hopes of obtain-
 ‘ ing any one thing we ought to have had. I
 ‘ believe every gentleman will allow, that we
 ‘ ought to have had some satisfaction for the
 ‘ many insults the *Spaniards* have put upon the
 ‘ crown and flag of *Great Britain*. To some,
 ‘ this may appear to be merely a point of ho-
 ‘ nour ; but to me it appears so material, that,
 ‘ I think, we can have no future security with-
 ‘ out it. No treaty, no regulations you can
 ‘ make, will, in my opinion, signify any thing,
 ‘ without some exemplary satisfaction ; for the
 ‘ *Spanish* governors and captains of *Guarda Costa*’s
 ‘ in *America*, will shew no regard to any treaty
 ‘ or regulations you can make, if they find they
 ‘ may transgress them with impunity. Whereas,
 ‘ if some of those governors and captains that
 ‘ have

‘ have robbed our merchants, had been hanged,
‘ as they highly deserve, and their bodies hung
‘ up in chains, upon the most conspicuous capes
‘ of *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, and *Porto-Rico*, it would
‘ have shewn all such for the future, what they
‘ were to expect, if they insulted the crown, or
‘ injured the subjects of *Great Britain*. But the
‘ court of *Spain* being resolved to grant nothing
‘ that might any way contribute to our future
‘ security, resolved not to allow the word *satis-*
‘ *faction* to be so much as once mentioned in
‘ this treaty. Even the *Spanish* pirate who cut
‘ off Captain *Jenkins*’s ear, making use at the
‘ same time of the most insulting expression to-
‘ wards the person of our King, an expression
‘ which no *British* subject can decently repeat,
‘ an expression which no man, that has a regard
‘ for his Sovereign, can ever forgive: Even this
‘ fellow, I say, is to live to enjoy the fruits of
‘ his rapine, and remain a living testimony of
‘ the cowardly tameness, and mean submission
‘ of *Great Britain*, and of the triumphant pride,
‘ and stubborn haughtiness of *Spain*.

‘ This alone, Sir, is sufficient to shew, that
‘ we can have no hopes of any future security;
‘ and yet a future security for the freedom of
‘ our trade and navigation, was what we ought
‘ principally and peremptorily to have insisted
‘ on; but our negotiating ministers have not
‘ satisfied themselves with neglecting it, they
‘ have almost expressly, by this preliminary,
‘ given it up: They have almost expressly given
‘ up the rights upon which it depends, by refer-
‘ ring them to be regulated by plenipotentiaries;
‘ for if we consider the nature of those rights
‘ in dispute between *Spain* and us, upon which
‘ our future security depends, we must see, that
‘ if the right we pretend to, be regulated, it
‘ must be surrendered, and that if the right

‘ *Spain* pretends to, be regulated, it must be
 ‘ established. The right we pretend to, the
 ‘ right which I hope the nation will never de-
 ‘ part from, whatever our negotiators may do,
 ‘ is a right to a free navigation in the open seas
 ‘ of *America*: This right the *Spaniards*, trusting
 ‘ to our feebleness, or our fondness for negotia-
 ‘ tion, have taken upon them to deny: They
 ‘ say, we have no right to any navigation in the
 ‘ *American* seas, but what they have granted us
 ‘ by treaty, which is only whilst our ships steer
 ‘ a direct course from one part of the *British* do-
 ‘ minions to another. For God sake, Sir, what
 ‘ is it in this case our plenipotentiaries are to
 ‘ regulate? Are they to regulate what shall, or
 ‘ shall not be called a direct course? If we agree
 ‘ to any such regulation, can we afterwards say,
 ‘ we have a right to a free navigation? Does not
 ‘ every gentleman see, that if this right be re-
 ‘ gulated, it must be given up?

‘ On the other hand, Sir, *Spain* pretends to a
 ‘ right to search our ships in the open seas of
 ‘ *America*, and to seize and confiscate them, if
 ‘ they be found sailing out of their due course,
 ‘ or if any goods which they are pleased to call
 ‘ contraband, be found on board. Does not
 ‘ every gentleman see, that this right must be
 ‘ granted, must be established, before it can be
 ‘ regulated? Therefore, it may be justly said,
 ‘ that by this preliminary we have surrendered
 ‘ the right we pretend to, and established the
 ‘ right the *Spaniards* pretend to; or at least, that
 ‘ we have laid a foundation for expressly surren-
 ‘ dering the one, and establishing the other, by
 ‘ the solemn treaty that is to be concluded in
 ‘ pursuance of this preliminary. This is the
 ‘ least we have done by this preliminary; and
 ‘ this is the more dishonourable, the more scan-
 ‘ dalous, because the right we pretend to, is a
 ‘ right

‘ right established by the law of nature, enjoyed
‘ by all nations, and confirmed to us by every
‘ treaty subsisting between the two crowns:
‘ Whereas, the right the *Spaniards* pretend to,
‘ is a servitude, which no nation ever pretended
‘ to impose upon another, nor did ever the most
‘ contemptible nation under the sun submit to it.
‘ To which I must add another misfortune, that
‘ all the regulations that can, in either of these
‘ cases, be established, are to be explained and
‘ judged of by *Spanish* governors and captains of
‘ *Guarda Costa's*; and therefore, we may, from
‘ their past behaviour, conclude, that every *British*
‘ ship they meet with in the seas of *America*,
‘ will be adjudged to be a trespasser against
‘ some of these regulations, and consequently
‘ liable to confiscation.

‘ Thus, Sir, it appears, we have negotiated,
‘ we have treated away all hopes of future security;
‘ and now I shall make it appear, we
‘ have done the same with respect to reparation
‘ for past injuries. By a commissorial way of
‘ reckoning, our negotiators reduced the demands
‘ of their country to 200,000*l.* and this sum,
‘ allowing a trifle, as they say, for prompt
‘ payment, they pretend to have obtained for
‘ us; but how have they obtained it? They
‘ allow *Spain* to deduct 60,000*l.* on account of
‘ a most frivolous demand they set up against
‘ us, and before *Spain* pays any thing to us,
‘ they have allowed them to extort, in the most
‘ unjustifiable manner, from our *South-Sea* company,
‘ 68,000*l.* These two sums reduced what
‘ *Spain* was to pay to us, by way of reparation,
‘ to 72,000*l.* and from this sum, they have allowed
‘ them to deduct 45,000*l.* a pretty modest
‘ allowance, for prompt payment: Then
‘ there remains but 27,000*l.* and for this they
‘ have allowed them to detain, and convert to
‘ their

‘ their own use, five *British* ships, which the
‘ King of *Spain* had before promised to restore,
‘ and had actually sent *Cedula's* to the *West-Indies*
‘ for that purpose; which five ships, I mean
‘ those mentioned in the fourth article of this
‘ treaty, were worth 30 or 40,000*l.* Does not
‘ every one see, Sir, that instead of our getting
‘ any reparation, by this treaty, for past inju-
‘ ries, we have really allowed the *Spaniards* to
‘ keep to the value of at least 3, if not 13,000*l.*
‘ of what they had before obliged themselves to
‘ restore? and this, I suppose, our negotiators
‘ allowed them, by way of a reward for their
‘ allowing the sham, stipulated payment of
‘ 95,000*l.* to be mentioned in this treaty. In
‘ consideration of which sham, stipulated pay-
‘ ment, we have given them a general release
‘ for all demands, and all past injuries. Sir, if
‘ we had freely given them a general release, we
‘ might have had something to boast of: We
‘ might have bragg’d of our generous and for-
‘ giving temper; but to be thus choused out of
‘ all our just demands, must make us the ridi-
‘ cule of every foreigner that hears of it. Can
‘ such a sham reparation, such a lumping bar-
‘ gain as this, be said to be an acknowledgment
‘ in the *Spaniards*, of their having been in the
‘ wrong to us? So far otherwise, that it must be
‘ supposed, they insisted upon our lumping away
‘ our demands in this manner, on purpose to a-
‘ void their being obliged to acknowledge them-
‘ selves in the wrong, or to acknowledge that
‘ any of our ships had been unjustly searched,
‘ seized, or confiscated, except the five ships
‘ they had before acknowledged to be so; and
‘ provided we would allow them to keep these
‘ five ships, I suppose they were willing to a-
‘ gree, to allow us what they valued them at,
‘ by way of reparation.

‘ This,

‘ This, Sir, is in reality, whatever we may
‘ pretend, the only reparation we are to meet
‘ with from *Spain*; and this reparation they had
‘ promised us before this convention was thought
‘ of. The 60,000*l.* which we have allowed
‘ them for their ships, which we took and de-
‘ stroyed in the year 1718, can be no reparation
‘ to us, whatever it may be to them; because
‘ they had no pretence for any such demand.
‘ The taking and destroying of those ships was
‘ what we had, from their infraction of treaties,
‘ a just title to: It was then reckoned such a
‘ piece of publick service, that Sir *George Byng*
‘ was made a Peer for doing it; and if we pro-
‘ mised to restore them by the treaty in 1721,
‘ we performed that promise, as far as was in-
‘ cumbent upon us: We promised only to re-
‘ store them in the condition they were in: We
‘ did not promise to repair them, or to make
‘ them fit for service; and if the *Spaniards*
‘ would not take them, because they would not
‘ be at the expence of repairing them, it was
‘ their fault. Therefore, I must suppose our
‘ negotiators allowed of this demand, for no
‘ other reason, but in order to have a pretence
‘ to say, they had obtained some sort of repa-
‘ ration; and the 68,000*l.* to be paid by our
‘ *South-Sea* company, I must look on, as a con-
‘ descension of the same nature. The King of
‘ *Spain* had justly no such demand upon the
‘ company: If he had, they had much greater
‘ demands upon him: The court of *Spain* itself,
‘ allows they have a just demand for above four
‘ times that sum; therefore, the most that court
‘ could insist on, was compensation; but the
‘ truth is, I believe, they are resolved never to
‘ pay the company a shilling; and our negoti-
‘ ators allowed them to insist upon the immedi-
‘ ate payment of this 68,000*l.* upon a promise
‘ to

‘ to pay it back to them by way of reparation.
‘ Can this be called a reparation made by *Spain*?
‘ Can it be called a reparation, made to this na-
‘ tion? If the company would agree to pay it,
‘ which I believe they will not, it might be
‘ some reparation to our injured merchants; but
‘ a reparation made to them by our own *South-*
‘ *Sea* company, can never be said to be a repa-
‘ ration made by *Spain*; nor can a reparation
‘ made by one part of our own people to an-
‘ other, be said to be a reparation made to the
‘ nation.

‘ I have now, I hope, clearly shewn, Sir,
‘ that by this convention, we have obtained no
‘ satisfaction, no security, no reparation; but
‘ that, on the contrary, we have given up all
‘ future pretences to every one of them. There-
‘ fore, I cannot think that any gentleman who
‘ considers himself only as a member of this
‘ house, will agree to our approaching the
‘ throne of our Sovereign, with such an ad-
‘ dress as has been proposed. Immediate war
‘ may not be the consequence of our refusing
‘ our approbation; but immediate infamy to the
‘ nation will, in my opinion, be the certain con-
‘ sequence of our granting it. I shall allow that
‘ war ought to be avoided. It ought to be a-
‘ voided by all means, but scandalous, cowardly
‘ means. A nation that has once got the cha-
‘ racter of being cowardly, or too fearful of en-
‘ gaging in war, must always be in a sort of
‘ war. They will always be suffering war, but
‘ never making any. This, I’m afraid, has been
‘ too much our case for seventeen or eighteen
‘ years past: We have had our towns besieged,
‘ our ships taken, our merchants plundered, and
‘ our seamen barbarously treated, without our de-
‘ claring war, or committing any hostilities, on
‘ our side. Long before the treaty of *Seville*,
‘ the

‘ the *Spaniards* began their depredations: We
‘ then bought peace at a dear rate; at the
‘ price of sacrificing the friendship and confi-
‘ dence of one of our best allies. While we
‘ were getting provinces for *Don Carlos*, which
‘ has since procured him kingdoms, the *Spani-*
‘ *ards* suspended a little their depredations; but
‘ they never granted us any reparation for what
‘ was past, nor security against future, tho’ they
‘ promised both by that treaty: On the con-
‘ trary, as soon as their turn was serv’d, they
‘ renewed their depredations, with more vigour
‘ and cruelty than ever. And shall we approve
‘ of a treaty, which, instead of preventing
‘ them, will give the *Spaniards* what they never
‘ had before, a title to continue them? for this
‘ must be the case, if, in pursuance of this pre-
‘ liminary, we agree, by a solemn treaty, to
‘ any regulations, either with regard to our
‘ right to a free navigation, or with regard to
‘ the right they pretend to, of searching our
‘ ships upon the open seas, and seizing them,
‘ if found sailing out of their due course, or
‘ with any goods on board which they are pleas-
‘ ed to call contraband.

‘ Our agreeing, Sir, to such a treaty, must
‘ necessarily involve us at last in a war, unless
‘ we have a mind to give up our plantations and
‘ *West-India* trade: Whereas our refusing our ap-
‘ probation to this preliminary, will prevent any
‘ such solemn treaty’s being negotiated, and
‘ may prevent a war; for if *Spain* has the least
‘ dread of our resentment or power; if this na-
‘ tion is not already brought into the utmost
‘ contempt, when *Spain* sees that they cannot a-
‘ muse a *British* Parliament, as well as a *British*
‘ ministry, they will agree to do us justice in a
‘ peaceable manner. But for God sake, Sir,
‘ what are we afraid of? If *Spain* is not assisted
‘ by

' by *France*, 'tis impossible we can have any
 ' thing to fear. If *France* should join against
 ' us; tho' I may not perhaps think, we are an
 ' equal match for them both at land, yet, I
 ' think, we are more than a match for them
 ' both at sea; and there they must gain a supe-
 ' riority, before they can distress, or greatly
 ' hurt this nation. But suppose we were not:
 ' The honourable gentleman who made this
 ' motion, has himself given a good reason,
 ' why we should not submit to an infamous
 ' peace. The race is not to the swift, nor the
 ' battle to the strong, 'tis God that gives the
 ' victory; and when we have so just a cause,
 ' we have great reason to hope for the assistance
 ' of God Almighty; which will be sufficient for
 ' us, even tho', by means of our late negotiati-
 ' ons and conduct, we may now literally say,
 ' We have none else to put our trust in, but
 ' him.

' The circumstances of *Europe*, Sir, are, in-
 ' deed, at present, in a dangerous, a most terri-
 ' ble situation; and the present circumstances of
 ' this nation cannot, 'tis true, be said to be
 ' happy; but the honourable gentleman who
 ' made this motion is, I think, one of the last
 ' that ought to have made use of such an argu-
 ' ment for our approving of a dishonourable or
 ' destructive treaty. If we have negotiated the
 ' affairs of *Europe* into an unlucky situation, 'tis
 ' well known who ought to be blamed; and if
 ' the domestick affairs of this nation be now in
 ' great disorder, a certain friend of his cannot
 ' be entirely innocent. If our affairs are brought
 ' to such a fatal crisis, that we must either for-
 ' feit our honour, and leave our plantations and
 ' trade exposed to continual insults and depreda-
 ' tions, or engage in an unequal war, it may be
 ' an argument for suspending our resentment, if
 ' possible,

‘ possible, till a more favourable opportunity of-
‘ fers; but it can be no argument for our agree-
‘ ing to a dishonourable and pernicious treaty;
‘ especially, when by such a treaty we are to get
‘ nothing, not so much as a suspension of hosti-
‘ lities, and are to give a general release of all
‘ former demands, a general oblivion of all past
‘ injuries; for since we are to get nothing, I
‘ think, we ought not to have passed from any
‘ thing by this preliminary: Our demands, as
‘ well as our rights, might have been referred
‘ to be regulated by our plenipotentiaries; and
‘ in that case, we could have insisted or relaxed
‘ with regard to the former, according to the
‘ compliances we had found *Spain* ready to make
‘ with regard to the latter.

‘ I therefore hope, Sir, that no gentleman
‘ will be frightened into an approbation of this
‘ treaty, by the terrors that have been thrown
‘ out; but that on the contrary, every gentle-
‘ man will, upon this occasion, resume the spi-
‘ rit of his ancestors, and reject a treaty which
‘ so evidently blasts the honour of his country.
‘ When this is done, we may, with honour, ex-
‘ amine into the terrors we have been threatened
‘ with, and if there be the least ground for
‘ them, I hope it will be a prevailing argument
‘ for our entering upon a strict enquiry into the
‘ conduct of those who have brought their coun-
‘ try into such fatal circumstances; for if we be
‘ in such a woful condition, as to be unable to
‘ continue in peace with any degree of honour,
‘ or engage in war with any prospect of success,
‘ I am sure we can expect no redress from the
‘ future conduct of those, who, by their past
‘ conduct, have brought our affairs, both at
‘ home and abroad, into such distress and con-
‘ fusion.’

The

The Lord *Gage* spoke next to this effect:

‘ Mr. *Fane*,

Lord *Gage*'s
speech.

‘ Sir, As incapable as I am of entering into a
‘ debate of this nature, I can't with that duty I
‘ think I owe to my country, and those I have
‘ the honour to represent, sit still and only give
‘ a negative to the question before us: For I
‘ look on this address, that is propos'd to be
‘ made his Majesty, to be no more than a vote
‘ of approbation of the measures taken by the
‘ administration, and of thanks for the blessing
‘ the nation has obtain'd by this convention with
‘ *Spain*, of which, I once said before, had a
‘ messenger with proper instructions been sent
‘ over in a fisher-boat, he would have brought
‘ us back a better, than that we have got.

‘ As to any compliments that are to be paid
‘ his Majesty, no one is more ready to join in
‘ them than myself; but as by the laws of this
‘ land the King can do no wrong, so I look on
‘ this convention as the work of the minister,
‘ and as such I shall speak of it; and that it is
‘ so, is clear; for every body, let him be never
‘ so dim-sighted (that has not had dust thrown
‘ into his eyes) must see, that this glorious con-
‘ vention, that has cost the nation not above
‘ half a million of money, is more a ministerial
‘ expedient to get over this session of Parlia-
‘ ment, than a thing calculated either for the
‘ dignity of the crown, the satisfaction of the
‘ merchants, or reparation for the repeated in-
‘ sults on the honour of the nation.

‘ When I first read the convention, I was sur-
‘ priz'd to find, that our indisputable right to
‘ free navigation, and no search at any distance
‘ from land, was to be referred to plenipoten-
‘ tiaries at a future congress: The referring an
‘ indis-

‘ indisputable right, is in a manner weakening
‘ the title ; not that I apprehend, that any mi-
‘ nister at home or abroad will ever dare give
‘ up this right of ours.

‘ But why is this to be discussed in a future
‘ treaty ? Why, after the resolutions the Parlia-
‘ ment last year came into, was not this the first
‘ article in the convention, *sine qua non*, as to
‘ any treaty with *Spain* ? Can there be any one
‘ weak enough to imagine, that plenipotentii-
‘ aries, sitting at a round table, with pen, ink,
‘ and paper before them, can procure for this
‘ nation, what our fleet could not have done last
‘ year, with cannon, powder and ball ?

‘ Besides, by having deferr’d doing ourselves
‘ justice, *England* may have lost a very lucky
‘ juncture : *France* and *Spain* was not then on so
‘ good terms, as I am afraid they are at present.
‘ Had the *Spaniards* been attack’d last year in
‘ *New-Spain*, we should have found them unpro-
‘ vided, their garisons without men, and their
‘ fortifications out of repair. But this they have
‘ taken care to remedy for the future, by the
‘ great number of troops they have since sent
‘ thither, and by working day and night at
‘ their fortifications.

‘ But, as on the one hand they are grown
‘ stronger, so we on the other are grown weaker
‘ and poorer : We, Sir, last year threw away a
‘ vast sum of money to no purpose, but to be
‘ laught at by all nations ; and they, by our
‘ leave, are bringing home, in their galleons,
‘ vast sums of money to be employ’d against us.

‘ What have we been doing for these last
‘ twenty years, but negotiating to no purpose ?
‘ What is there in this treaty more than in all
‘ former ones ? Did not *Spain* by the treaty of
‘ *Madrid*, in the year 1721, which treaty was
‘ confirm’d by another in the same year, call’d

‘ the triple alliance, stipulate that all former
 ‘ treaties should be confirm’d, and exprefly pro-
 ‘ mised that all goods, merchandizes, money,
 ‘ fhips, and other effects, which have been
 ‘ feiz’d as well in *Spain* as the *Indies*, should be
 ‘ fpeedily reftor’d in the fame kind, or accord-
 ‘ ing to the juft and true value of them, at the
 ‘ time they were feiz’d? Has there been a tittle
 ‘ of this perform’d? Have our merchants ever
 ‘ had any fatisfaction made them for their fhips,
 ‘ their effects and money, they were plunder’d
 ‘ of? Why, no.

‘ But yet every man, that at that time did
 ‘ not believe they fould, was look’d upon as
 ‘ a Jacobite, a man difaffected to his Majesty,
 ‘ or at leaft to his minifter, which was as bad,
 ‘ if not worfe. So far were the *Spaniards* from
 ‘ performing one article of this treaty, that they
 ‘ us’d us worfe than ever, and fo continued do-
 ‘ ing till the merchants came with fresh com-
 ‘ plaints, which they laid again before the houfe
 ‘ of Commons, where I can’t fay they were very
 ‘ civilly us’d by fome; however, they made out
 ‘ very clear the allegations of the petition, and
 ‘ proved their loffes beyond contradiction.

‘ Upon this, vigorous refolutions were again
 ‘ enter’d into by the houfe of Commons, to ob-
 ‘ tain juftice and fatisfaction for the merchants;
 ‘ and in order to obtain it, our then and prefent
 ‘ minifters, finding that they had not fucceeded
 ‘ in any one treaty they had yet made, enter’d
 ‘ into another, call’d the treaty of *Seville*, fign’d
 ‘ in the year 1729.

‘ By the firft article of this treaty, all former
 ‘ treaties of peace, friendship and commerce,
 ‘ are again renew’d and confirm’d: And *Spain*
 ‘ exprefly promis’d not to do any thing, nor
 ‘ fuffer any thing to be done, that might be
 ‘ contrary thereto, directly or indirectly.

‘ In

‘ In the fourth article of this treaty it is particularly agreed, That the commerce of the *English* nation in *America*, should be exercised as heretofore : And that orders should be dispatched without any delay to the *Indies* for that purpose.

‘ By the sixth article of it, commissaries were to be named, who were to settle the limits, and pretensions of the merchants : And *Spain* promised to execute punctually and exactly, within six months, what should be decided by the said commissaries, who were to make their report in three years ; but there being nothing done in the first three years, the term was renewed for three years more, in order to do nothing——which succeeded accordingly.

‘ And I remember very well, that an honourable gentleman on the floor (Mr. *Pulteney*) opposite to me, did at the time of making this treaty often say, that he was sure, if the government would give the merchants the money that was to be allow’d the commissaries, they would get more by that, than from the treaty ; which, I think, has proved but too true : For those gentlemen for themselves, have not received less than 20,000*l.* whereas the merchants have not received twenty pence.

‘ But yet at that time, this honourable gentleman, as well as myself, and all those who thought as we did, were look’d upon as a set of disaffected people, as they are now, who don’t like this convention, and expect no more good from it, than from all the former treaties.

‘ And, as for my part, I own, I expect no good from it, but apprehend much hurt : Our right to free navigation, and no search, not being inserted in it, but left to commissaries.

‘ I find also, by what I call the preliminary
 ‘ article, the King of *Spain*’s protest, that the
 ‘ *South-Sea* company’s *assiento* contract will be
 ‘ annulled, by the company’s having refused (a
 ‘ few days ago, in a full court) to pay the
 ‘ 68,000*l.* the King of *Spain* demands of them
 ‘ by that protest deliver’d to Mr. *Keene*. What
 ‘ authority Mr. *Keene* could have, to make this
 ‘ bargain for the *South-Sea* company, and give
 ‘ up a property they are entitled to, by virtue
 ‘ of treaties and acts of Parliament, I can’t ap-
 ‘ prehend. And tho’ their loss may be no na-
 ‘ tional point; yet, so great a body of *Engliſh*-
 ‘ men, whose property is concern’d, deserves at
 ‘ least the protection of Parliament.

‘ The next thing, that I have good reason to
 ‘ believe will be given up, or at least taken
 ‘ from us, is *Georgia*, tho’ hitherto supported
 ‘ by great sums of money given by Parliament,
 ‘ and granted by a Royal Charter to the present
 ‘ trustees: For you’ll find by the second article
 ‘ of this convention, that the poor people, who,
 ‘ under the protection of this government, have
 ‘ transported themselves thither, are to be left
 ‘ naked and defenceless, exposed to the mercy
 ‘ of the *Spaniards*, whenever they please to at-
 ‘ tack them, by being restrain’d from the means
 ‘ of self-preservation. For by that article it is
 ‘ agreed, that neither the *Spaniards*, nor they,
 ‘ should raise any fortifications.

‘ Now, Sir, I can see but one reason, why
 ‘ this was stipulated in the manner I have men-
 ‘ tion’d, for it regards only us (we demanding
 ‘ no part of the King of *Spain*’s territories) and
 ‘ that is this; our ministers finding that *Spain*
 ‘ did not much like our settlement at *Georgia*,
 ‘ and they not daring, by a solemn treaty to
 ‘ yield it up, they might whisper the *Spanish* mi-
 ‘ nisters, and tell them, we are sorry we don’t
 ‘ dare

‘ dare give it you up, but we will agree it shall
‘ be left defenceless, and then you may easily
‘ take it, and we not call’d to an account for it:
‘ This is not at all improbable, when we confi-
‘ der how industrious our ministers have been
‘ to find out expedients to be well with *Spain*,
‘ for the good of their country.

‘ Now I have been shewing you, what I ap-
‘ prehend we shall lose, let us see a little, what
‘ it is we have a prospect of getting: That of
‘ no search, free navigation, and satisfaction to
‘ our merchants, I am sure it won’t be, for the
‘ reasons I have mention’d before, as well as
‘ from what fell from the honourable gentle-
‘ man that spoke last; for it is not to be sup-
‘ pos’d, but what, as far as fair means would
‘ go, every method has been already try’d: And
‘ he just now as good as told us, we could pro-
‘ ceed by no other, for that we had neither mo-
‘ ney to go to war with, nor friend, nor ally in
‘ the world to support us; and he must know,
‘ who has been our grand negotiator for these
‘ last twenty years; a pretty account, I must
‘ own, he has given us, of the success of his
‘ negotiations, as well as prudent declaration
‘ from one in his post!

‘ But by this treaty he tells us, there is to
‘ be ample satisfaction given to our merchants.
‘ How far they are satisfy’d with the conven-
‘ tion, the house may judge, from what they
‘ have heard them declare at the bar.

‘ He says, they are to receive 155,000*l.*
‘ which will be in full satisfaction of their
‘ losses; tho’ by the bye, their demands on
‘ *Spain* were for 340,000*l.* but our commissary,
‘ by a stroke of his pen, reduced them to
‘ 200,000*l.* being, as he thought, full enough
‘ for our merchants; and then to induce *Spain*
‘ to prompt payment, 45,000*l.* more was struck

‘ off, which brings it to the sum the honourable
 ‘ gentleman has mention’d, *Spain* is certainly to
 ‘ pay us: And upon this point, I find, he chief-
 ‘ ly seems to extol the goodness of the con-
 ‘ vention, and the ability of the ministers, in
 ‘ bringing *Spain* to this condescension; for that
 ‘ *Spain* paying the money was owning her fault,
 ‘ and delaring the illegality of her proceedings.
 ‘ In answer to this, in the first place, I don’t
 ‘ believe *Spain* will ever pay us a farthing of the
 ‘ money; and, in the next place, suppose the
 ‘ money mention’d should be paid the mer-
 ‘ chants, let us see how much *Spain* is to pay
 ‘ us of it.

‘ Why, in the first place, towards making up
 ‘ the 155,000*l.* for the satisfaction of the mer-
 ‘ chants, *Spain* insists on *England* allowing her
 ‘ 60,000*l.* as the remaining part of a debt due
 ‘ to her for having destroy’d her fleet in the year
 ‘ 1718. Very gracious indeed, that they did
 ‘ not carry her demands as far back as Queen
 ‘ *Elizabeth*’s reign, for the fleet then destroy’d!

‘ But as strange as this demand of *Spain* may
 ‘ seem from her, it is much more so in those
 ‘ who have agreed to it; for it has been already
 ‘ once satisfy’d, as appears by those papers on
 ‘ your table, which are copies of the instructi-
 ‘ ons sent to our ministers in *Spain* at the treaty
 ‘ of *Seville*, wherein is mention’d as follows:
 “ In case *Spain* shall make any further demands
 “ of you for the loss of their fleet, destroy’d by
 “ Sir *George Byng*, afterwards Lord *Torrington*,
 “ you are to tell the *Spanish* ministers, that *Spain*
 “ has been already amply satisfy’d, and you are
 “ not to enter into any farther discussion with
 “ them on that head.”

‘ Another time *Spain* paid themselves this de-
 ‘ mand by seizing the *South-Sea* company’s ef-
 ‘ fects, *Spain* at that time declaring, that they
 ‘ were

‘ were seiz’d and kept on that account: But
‘ what does it signify, if for the sake of obtain-
‘ ing this most advantageous convention, we
‘ should pay it her a third time? And then it
‘ reduces what *Spain* is to pay us, to 95,000 *l*.

‘ In the next place, towards paying the 95,000 *l*.
‘ the King of *Spain* insists, by his protest, as I
‘ mention’d before, that the *South-Sea* company
‘ shall immediately pay him 68,000 *l*. being a
‘ debt due to him from the company, on one
‘ head of accounts; tho’ at the same time, on
‘ other heads of accounts, his Majesty is in-
‘ debted to the company a million over and
‘ above, as appears on your table, for which
‘ they are to stay his time.

‘ Now these two sums make 128,000 *l*. that
‘ I think *England* is to pay our merchants instead
‘ of *Spain* (if ever paid) so there remains but
‘ 27,000 *l*. for *Spain* to pay, of which 27,000 *l*.
‘ she has taken care to be excused from paying
‘ one farthing, as appears by the stipulations by
‘ way of draw-back, inserted in the fourth ar-
‘ ticle of the convention, and the second sepa-
‘ rate article.

‘ For by those articles, *Spain* is to deduct out
‘ of the money she is to pay, whatever she may
‘ have already given in satisfaction, for any of
‘ our ships that have been taken. And *England*
‘ is also to allow *Spain* the value of the *St. The-
‘ resa*, a ship of theirs that had been seiz’d in
‘ the port of *Dublin* in the year 1735. Also
‘ this is to be settled by our plenipotentiaries,
‘ and I think we shall come off well, if on the
‘ balance of accounts, instead of receiving the
‘ 27,000 *l*. we shan’t be obliged to pay an over-
‘ plus to *Spain*. Here ends, Sir, a short narra-
‘ tive of the ample satisfaction *England* is to re-
‘ ceive from *Spain* for the 340,000 *l*. due to her
‘ merchants. A most glorious convention I must

‘ own, and such a master-piece in politicks, that
 ‘ I dare say none of the Machiavilians of the
 ‘ age, but our own at the head of affairs, could
 ‘ have thought of!

‘ But yet, after all this, we shall be told, I
 ‘ dare say, that this thorough dislike to the con-
 ‘ vention, and flame the nation is in, is raised
 ‘ only by a parcel of merchants, and discon-
 ‘ tented people, who only want to turn out the
 ‘ ministers.

‘ No, Sir, this is not the case, for it is not
 ‘ the ministers but their measures, that has kin-
 ‘ dled this flame: Facts will always speak for
 ‘ themselves, and merchants will always know
 ‘ their own interest.

‘ But when the continued depredations on our
 ‘ merchants, the repeated insults on the honour
 ‘ of the nation, the cruelties and barbarities ex-
 ‘ ercised on our sailors, our countrymen thrown
 ‘ into dungeons, and chain’d like slaves; I say,
 ‘ when this is consider’d, and no more prospect
 ‘ of redress from this convention, than a piece
 ‘ of waste paper, no wonder, that the heart of
 ‘ every *Englishman* should be inflam’d.

‘ I beg pardon, Sir, for having taken up so
 ‘ much of your time, but shall be against this
 ‘ address to his Majesty, because I look on this
 ‘ convention as disadvantageous to the mer-
 ‘ chants, dishonourable to the King, and igno-
 ‘ minious to the nation.’

Upon the same occasion Mr. *Howe*, now Lord
Chedworth, spoke thus.

‘ Mr. *Fane*,

Mr. *Howe*’s
 speech.

‘ Sir, If I may judge of this treaty as I do
 ‘ of others, I must think it as good a one as
 ‘ we could expect. We never obtained by any
 ‘ treaty all we could desire, nor all we thought
 ‘ we

‘ we had reason to insist on. I do not know that
‘ ever any nation did, unless they make a sort
‘ of conquest ; and then it is not a treaty, but a
‘ law prescribed by the conqueror to the con-
‘ quered. In all other cases, nations are obliged
‘ to consider times and circumstances, and to ac-
‘ cept of the utmost the then posture of affairs
‘ will allow them to insist on. Between con-
‘ tending nations, the case is the same with
‘ what it is between private men : Each party
‘ thinks himself in the right, tho’ it generally
‘ happens that both are in the wrong : What
‘ may seem extremely clear, and nothing but
‘ just, to one party, or in one country, may ap-
‘ pear to be very doubtful, or highly unreason-
‘ able, in the other. Therefore, when two na-
‘ tions are treating upon a par, if they have a
‘ mind to agree, neither must obstinately insist
‘ upon what they think right, but each must
‘ consider its own circumstances, and the cir-
‘ cumstances of its adversary, at that particular
‘ time, in order from thence to judge, what
‘ concessions must be made, and what demands
‘ may be peremptorily insisted on. In this light,
‘ I think, the treaty now before us ought to be
‘ considered ; and in this light I must say, I’m
‘ surprized to find it so good as it is.

‘ With regard to the *Spanish* demand on our
‘ *Sonth-Sea* company, and with regard to their
‘ demand on account of the ships taken and de-
‘ stroyed by us in the year 1718, I am far from
‘ being of the same opinion with those gentle-
‘ men who disapprove of this treaty. I believe,
‘ Sir, the *Spaniards* had some reason to insist
‘ upon both, especially the last. Perhaps they
‘ may say, they had reason at that time to at-
‘ tack the Emperor in *Sardinia*, and the Duke of
‘ *Savoy* in *Sicily*, because of a negotiation then
‘ on foot, for giving *Sicily* to the Emperor, in
‘ exchange

‘ exchange for *Sardinia*, without asking the con-
 ‘ sent of *Spain*; and without shewing the least
 ‘ regard to the right of reversion they had to
 ‘ *Sicily* by the treaty of *Utrecht* between *Spain*
 ‘ and *Savoy*, confirmed by the fourteenth article
 ‘ of the treaty made at the same place, between
 ‘ *Great Britain* and *Spain*. And as for their de-
 ‘ mand upon the *South-Sea* company, I must in
 ‘ charity believe, they thought it was just, o-
 ‘ therwise they would not have made it; but
 ‘ whether it be just or not, or whether or no the
 ‘ *South-Sea* company pays it to *Spain*, are questi-
 ‘ ons that can have no relation to the present;
 ‘ because by this treaty the justice of the de-
 ‘ mand is not acknowledged, and the *Spaniards*
 ‘ are to pay us the 95,000*l.* stipulated, whether
 ‘ this sum be paid to them by our *South-Sea*
 ‘ company or not; therefore I am surprized to
 ‘ hear it said, that the *South-Sea* company is to
 ‘ advance any part of that money which is to be
 ‘ paid us by *Spain*; but suppose they did, if in
 ‘ consideration thereof, *Spain* gave up what they
 ‘ thought a just claim, the money would, ac-
 ‘ cording to their way of thinking, be paid by
 ‘ them, and to this nation too. From hence, I
 ‘ think, it appears, that the reparation we have
 ‘ obtained by this treaty, amounts to 155,000*l.*
 ‘ and this I must look on as no inconsiderable
 ‘ sum, considering the present circumstances of
 ‘ affairs, and the strong objections *Spain* had to
 ‘ make to some of our claims.

‘ As to our future security, Sir, I shall ac-
 ‘ knowledge, it depends upon the rights in dis-
 ‘ pute; but by this treaty we have neither given
 ‘ up any we pretend to, nor acknowledged any
 ‘ the *Spaniards* pretend to. We have only re-
 ‘ ferred them to be examined into, and discussed
 ‘ by plenipotentiaries, which I cannot but ap-
 ‘ prove of; because I am convinced, the justice
 ‘ of

‘ of what we pretend to, and the unreasonable-
‘ nefs of what *Spain* pretends to, will from
‘ thence fully appear: Whereas, if we had re-
‘ fused to have our title disputed, it would, in
‘ my opinion, have been an argument that we
‘ ourselves thought it disputable.

‘ Therefore, Sir, without being influenced by
‘ any fears or terrors, or by any thing but the
‘ reasonableness of the thing itself, I cannot but
‘ approve of the treaty now under our confide-
‘ ration, and consequently must agree to the
‘ motion the honourable gentleman has been
‘ pleased to make.’

The next that spoke was *William Pitt*, Esq;
whose speech was in substance as follows, *viz.*

‘ Mr. *Fane*,

‘ Sir, There certainly has never been in Par-
‘ liament a matter of more high and national
‘ concern, than the convention referred to the
‘ consideration of this committee; and give me
‘ leave to say, there cannot be a more indirect
‘ manner of taking the sense of the committee
‘ upon it, than by the complicated question that
‘ is now before you. I have no apprehensions
‘ that any one gentleman can be led into an ap-
‘ probation of the convention, under the softer
‘ name of an humble address to the throne: But
‘ is this that full, deliberate examination, which
‘ we were called upon, with defiance, to give to
‘ this convention? Is this cursory, blended dis-
‘ quisition of matters of such variety and ex-
‘ tent, all that we owe to ourselves and to our
‘ country? When trade is at stake, it is your
‘ last retrenchment, you must defend it or pe-
‘ rish; and whatever is to decide of that, de-
‘ serves the most distinct consideration, and the
‘ most direct, undisguised sense of Parliament.
‘ But

Mr. Pitt's
speech.

‘ But how are we now proceeding? Upon an artificial, ministerial question: Here is all the confidence, here is the conscious sense of the greatest service that ever was done to this country; to be complicating questions, to be lumping sanction and approbation, like a commissary’s accompt, to be covering and taking sanctuary in the Royal Name, instead of meeting openly, and standing fairly, the direct judgment and sentence of Parliament, upon the several articles of this convention.

‘ Sir, you have been moved to vote an humble address of thanks to his Majesty, for a measure, which, (I will appeal to gentlemens conversation in the world) is odious throughout the kingdom: Such thanks are only due to the fatal influence that framed it, as are due for that low, unallied condition abroad, which is now made a plea for this convention. To what are gentlemen reduced in support of it? First try a little to defend it upon its own merits; if that is not tenable, throw out general terrors, the house of *Bourbon* is united, who knows the consequence of a war? Sir, *Spain* knows the consequence of a war in *America*, whoever gains, it must prove fatal to her: She knows it, and must therefore avoid it; but she knows *England* does not dare to make it. And what is a delay, which is all this magnified convention is sometimes call’d, to produce? Can it produce such conjunctures, as those you lost, while you were giving kingdoms to *Spain*, and all to bring her back again to that great branch of the house of *Bourbon*, which is now thrown out to you with so much terror? If this union be formidable, are we to delay only till it becomes more formidable, by being carried farther into execution, and more strongly cemented? But be it what it will, is
‘ this

‘ this any longer a nation, or what is an *English*
‘ Parliament, if with more ships in your har-
‘ bours than in all the navies of *Europe*, with
‘ above two millions of people in your *American*
‘ colonies, you will bear to hear of the expedi-
‘ ency of receiving from *Spain* an infecure, un-
‘ fatisfactory, dishonourable convention? Sir, I
‘ call it no more than it has been proved in this
‘ debate; it carries fallacy or downright subjec-
‘ tion in almost every line: It has been laid o-
‘ pen and exposed in so many strong and gla-
‘ ring lights, that I can pretend to add nothing
‘ to the conviction and indignation it has rais’d.

‘ Sir, after so much has been said, and very
‘ ably, by gentlemen that have gone before me,
‘ I can expect to be heard but with little atten-
‘ tion: I am sorry it is so easy to speak on our
‘ side of the question; I wish the subject were
‘ less copious; I think it a very melancholy ad-
‘ vantage, and I will trouble you as little as I
‘ can upon a matter that furnishes such unhappy
‘ abundance.

‘ Sir, as to the great national objection, the
‘ searching your ships, that favourite word, as it
‘ was call’d, is not omitted, indeed, in the pre-
‘ amble to the convention, but it stands there as
‘ the reproach of the whole, as the strongest e-
‘ vidence of the fatal submission that follows:
‘ On the part of *Spain*, an usurpation, an inhu-
‘ man tyranny claim’d and exercis’d over the *A-*
‘ *merican* seas; on the part of *England*, an un-
‘ doubted right by treaties, and from God and
‘ nature, declared and asserted in the resolutions
‘ of Parliament, are referred to the discussion of
‘ plenipotentiaries, upon one and the same equal
‘ foot. Sir, I say this undoubted right is to be
‘ discuss’d and to be regulated. And if to re-
‘ gulate be to prescribe rules, (as in all construc-
‘ tion it is) this right is, by the express words of
‘ this

‘ this convention, to be given up and sacrificed ;
 ‘ for it must cease to be any thing, from the
 ‘ moment it is submitted to limits.

‘ The court of *Spain* has plainly told you (as
 ‘ appears by papers upon the table) you shall
 ‘ steer a due course, you shall navigate by a line
 ‘ to and from your plantations in *America* ; if
 ‘ you draw near to her coasts, (tho’ from the
 ‘ circumstances of that navigation you are under
 ‘ an unavoidable necessity of doing it) you shall
 ‘ be seized and confiscated : If then upon these
 ‘ terms only she has consented to refer, what
 ‘ becomes at once of all the security we are flat-
 ‘ ter’d with in consequence of this reference ?
 ‘ Plenipotentiaries are to regulate finally the re-
 ‘ spective pretensions of the two crowns, with
 ‘ regard to trade and navigation in *America* ;
 ‘ but does a man in *Spain* reason that these pre-
 ‘ tensions must be regulated to the satisfaction
 ‘ and honour of *England* ? No, Sir, they con-
 ‘ clude, and with reason, from the high spirit
 ‘ of their administration, from the superiority
 ‘ with which they have so long treated you, that
 ‘ this reference must end, as it has begun, to
 ‘ their honour and advantage.

‘ But gentlemen say, the treaties subsisting are
 ‘ to be the measure of this regulation. Sir, as
 ‘ to treaties, I will take part of the words of
 ‘ Sir *William Temple*, quoted by the honourable
 ‘ gentleman near me, *It is vain to negotiate and*
 ‘ *make treaties*, if there is not dignity and vi-
 ‘ gour to enforce the observance of them ; for
 ‘ under the misconstruction and misinterpreta-
 ‘ tion of these very treaties subsisting, this into-
 ‘ lerable grievance has arisen, it has been grow-
 ‘ ing upon you treaty after treaty, thro’ twenty
 ‘ years of negotiation, and even under the dis-
 ‘ cussion of commissaries to whom it was re-
 ‘ ferr’d. You have heard from captain *Vaughan*
 ‘ at

‘ at your bar, at what time these injuries and
‘ indignities were continued, as a kind of expla-
‘ natory comment upon the convention *Spain* has
‘ thought fit to grant you, as another *insolent*
‘ *protest*, under the validity and force of which
‘ she has suffer’d this convention to be proceed-
‘ ed on. We’ll treat with you, but we’ll search
‘ and take your ships; we’ll sign a convention,
‘ but we’ll keep your subjects prisoners, prison-
‘ ers in *Old Spain*; the *West-Indies* are remote,
‘ *Europe* shall be witness how we use you.

‘ Sir, as to the inference of an admission of
‘ our right not to be search’d, drawn from a re-
‘ paration made for ships unduly seiz’d and con-
‘ fiscated, I think that argument is very incon-
‘ clusive. The right claim’d by *Spain* to search
‘ our ships, is one thing, and the excesses ad-
‘ mitted to have been committed in consequence
‘ of this pretended right, is another; but sure-
‘ ly, Sir, reasoning from inferences and implica-
‘ tions only, is such a *minutie* as has been said
‘ by the honourable gentleman that made this
‘ motion, to be below the dignity of your pro-
‘ ceedings, upon a right of this vast impor-
‘ tance. What this reparation is, what sort of
‘ composition for your losses, forced upon you
‘ by *Spain* in an instance that has come to
‘ light, where your own commissaries could
‘ not in conscience decide against your claim,
‘ has fully appeared upon examination; and as
‘ for the payment of the sum stipulated, (all
‘ but 27,000*l.* and that too subject to a
‘ drawback) it is, evidently, a fallacious, nomi-
‘ nal payment only. I will not attempt to enter
‘ into the detail of a dark, confused, and scarce-
‘ ly intelligible accompt; I will only beg leave
‘ to conclude with one word upon it, in the
‘ light of a submission, as well as of an ade-
‘ quate reparation. *Spain* stipulates to pay to
‘ the

‘ the crown of *England* 95,000*l.* by a prelimi-
 ‘ nary protest of the King of *Spain*, the *South-*
 ‘ *Sea* company is at once to pay 68,000*l.* of
 ‘ it; if they refuse, *Spain*, I admit, is still to
 ‘ pay the 95,000*l.* but how does it stand then?
 ‘ The *assiento* contract is to be suspended: You
 ‘ are to purchase this sum at the price of an ex-
 ‘ clusive trade, pursuant to a national treaty,
 ‘ and of an immense debt, of God knows how
 ‘ many hundred thousand pounds, due from
 ‘ *Spain* to the *South-Sea* company. Here, Sir,
 ‘ is the submission of *Spain* by the payment of a
 ‘ stipulated sum; a tax laid upon subjects of
 ‘ *England*, under the severest penalties, with the
 ‘ *reciprocal accord* of an *English* minister, as a
 ‘ preliminary that the convention may be sign’d;
 ‘ a condition imposed by *Spain* in the most abso-
 ‘ lute imperious manner, and receiv’d by the
 ‘ ministers of *England* in the most tame and ab-
 ‘ ject. Can any verbal distinctions, any evasions
 ‘ whatever, possibly explain away this publick
 ‘ infamy? To whom would we disguise it? To
 ‘ ourselves and to the nation: I wish we could
 ‘ hide it from the eyes of every court in *Eu-*
 ‘ *rope*: They see *Spain* has talk’d to you like
 ‘ your master, they see this arbitrary fundamen-
 ‘ tal condition, and it must stand with distinc-
 ‘ tion, with a pre-eminence of shame, as a part
 ‘ even of this convention.

‘ This convention, Sir, I think from my soul,
 ‘ is nothing but a stipulation for national igno-
 ‘ miny; an illusory expedient to baffle the re-
 ‘ sentment of the nation; a truce without a sus-
 ‘ pension of hostilities on the part of *Spain*, on
 ‘ the part of *England*, a suspension, as to *Geor-*
 ‘ *gia*, of the first law of nature, self-preservation,
 ‘ on, and self-defence; a surrender of the rights
 ‘ and trade of *England* to the mercy of plenipo-
 ‘ tentiaries, and in this infinitely highest and sa-
 ‘ cred

‘ cred point, future security, not only inade-
 ‘ quate, but directly repugnant to the resoluti-
 ‘ ons of Parliament, and the gracious promise
 ‘ from the throne. The complaints of your
 ‘ despairing merchants, the voice of *England* has
 ‘ condemn’d it; be the guilt of it upon the head
 ‘ of the adviser; God forbid that this commit-
 ‘ tee should share the guilt, by approving it!’

The next speech we shall give upon this subject, was that made by *George Lyttleton*, Esq; who spoke as follows, *viz.*

Mr. *Fane*,

‘ Sir, From some words that fell from the
 ‘ honourable member who spoke last, I shall be- Mr. Lyttle-
 ‘ gin by wishing in the most solemn manner, by ton's speech.
 ‘ making it my most ardent prayer, that the
 ‘ mercantile interest may be the only bias of
 ‘ our deliberations to-day; and that neither
 ‘ the interest of a party, nor much less that of
 ‘ any single man, may prevail over this, which
 ‘ is the national concern. For then we shall do
 ‘ our duty in this great affair, and our decision
 ‘ of it will do honour to Parliament. But be-
 ‘ fore I enter further into this debate, I beg
 ‘ leave to take notice of some words that dropt
 ‘ from an honourable gentleman, who spoke the
 ‘ first upon this question, and which I heard
 ‘ with the deepest concern.

‘ After he had used many arguments to per-
 ‘ suade us to peace, to any peace good or bad,
 ‘ by painting out the dangers of a war, (dangers
 ‘ I by no means allow to be what he represents
 ‘ them) he crown’d all those terrors with the
 ‘ name of the Pretender. It wou’d be the cause
 ‘ of the Pretender: The Pretender would come!
 ‘ Is the honourable gentleman sensible what this
 ‘ language imports? The people of *England*

‘ complain of the greatest wrongs and indigni-
 ‘ ties ; they complain of the interruption, the
 ‘ destruction of their trade ; they think this
 ‘ peace has left them in a worse condition than
 ‘ before ; and in answer to all these complaints,
 ‘ what are they told ? Why, that their continu-
 ‘ ing to suffer all this, is the price they must
 ‘ pay to keep the King and his Family on the
 ‘ throne of these realms. If this were true, it
 ‘ ought not to be own’d. Will it strengthen
 ‘ the Family to have it believ’d ? But it is far
 ‘ from true ; the very reverse of it is true : No-
 ‘ thing can weaken the Family, nothing can
 ‘ shake the establishment, but such measures as
 ‘ these, and such language as this.

‘ Sir, I know who hears me, and for that rea-
 ‘ son I speak.—The honourable gentleman who
 ‘ first moved you this question, and he who
 ‘ spoke last, have both strongly insisted, and it
 ‘ was the sum of all their arguments, that our
 ‘ right not to be searched, is not referr’d to the
 ‘ discussion of plenipotentiaries, they are only,
 ‘ it seems, to consider how to remedy grievan-
 ‘ ces. What grievances, Sir, do the gentlemen
 ‘ mean ? The grievances of *England* ! they ad-
 ‘ mit but of one remedy, a very short and sim-
 ‘ ple one, and which wants no consideration :
 ‘ That our ships shall not be search’d upon any
 ‘ pretence. This alone can go to the root of
 ‘ our grievances ; all less than this is trifling,
 ‘ hurtful, fatal to commerce. Do they mean
 ‘ the grievances of *Spain* ? The illicit trade ?
 ‘ The remedy for that too is already provided,
 ‘ it is already settled by our treaties with *Spain*,
 ‘ that we are not to trade in their ports and ha-
 ‘ vens in *America* ; but if our ships are found
 ‘ there, they must be confiscated. Is not this
 ‘ sufficient ? I defy the honourable gentleman
 ‘ who has so much skill in negotiation, to dis-

‘ cover another expedient to secure the *Spaniards*
‘ from illicit trade, which will not be destructive
‘ to the lawful trade of *Great Britain*; and, I
‘ hope, we shall be more solicitous for our own,
‘ than for theirs. The honourable gentleman
‘ said, the settling this would take up some
‘ time; it will indeed, Sir, for it will never be
‘ settled; it is morally impossible it can ever be
‘ settled; and therefore, I think it ought not to
‘ have been brought into dispute. Had we pro-
‘ ceeded conformably to the intentions of Parlia-
‘ ment, we should either have acted with vi-
‘ gour, or have obtained a real security, in an
‘ express acknowledgment of our right not to
‘ be searched, as a preliminary *sine qua non* to
‘ our treating at all. This we ought to have in-
‘ sisted on in the words of *La Quadra’s* protest
‘ (which is the preliminary *sine qua non* of that
‘ crown) we ought to have insisted on it in those
‘ very words, as *the precise, and essential means to*
‘ *overcome the so much debated disputes, and that on*
‘ *the validity and force of this express acknowledg-*
‘ *ment, the signing the convention may be proceeded*
‘ *on, and in no other manner.* Instead of this,
‘ what have we done? We have referr’d it to
‘ plenipotentiaries. Is not this weakening our
‘ right? Wou’d you, Sir, submit to a reference,
‘ whether you may travel unmolested from your
‘ house in town, to your house in the country?
‘ Your right is clear and undeniable, why
‘ wou’d you have it discuss’d? But much less
‘ wou’d you refer it, if two of your judges be-
‘ long’d to a gang, which had often stopp’d and
‘ robb’d you in your way thither before.—

‘ Things that are of a nature to admit of
‘ temperaments, in which each party may re-
‘ cede from their respective pretensions, and
‘ come to a medium to conclude the dispute,
‘ such things allow of a discussion, and may be

‘ referr’d ; but when no medium can be found,
 ‘ when the case admits of no temperaments,
 ‘ where to recede one tittle, is to give up the
 ‘ question, there to agree to a discussion, is to
 ‘ endanger the whole : At best, it can end in
 ‘ nothing but in both sides adhering to their
 ‘ claim, and leaving all in uncertainty, to go
 ‘ on as before. And can any thing worse befall
 ‘ us ? Is not this destruction itself ?

‘ Oh but, said the honourable gentleman, we
 ‘ have gain’d a great point, in bringing *Spain* to
 ‘ acknowledge by the present convention, that
 ‘ grievances have arisen in the searching of
 ‘ ships, and that means to remedy these grie-
 ‘ vances ought to be found out ! Sir, was this
 ‘ ever denied ? Did *Spain* ever deny, that her
 ‘ *Guarda Costa’s* had sometimes committed excesses,
 ‘ that is, searched a little too wantonly, gone a
 ‘ little too far, made some *irregular seizures*, and
 ‘ that this ought to be remedied ? All this is ex-
 ‘ pressly confess’d in *La Quadra’s* letter to Mr.
 ‘ *Keene*, dated the tenth of *February* last year,
 ‘ before we sent out our fleets, and that orders
 ‘ should be given for reparation, when such ex-
 ‘ cesses are proved. But does this amount, or
 ‘ do the words of the treaty amount to any
 ‘ thing like a departing from their pretension to
 ‘ search ? No — they are only a modification
 ‘ of it to a certain degree, which is a defence of
 ‘ the practice itself, and we thought so last year,
 ‘ or why did we judge that letter so unsatisfac-
 ‘ tory ? But, Sir, pray consider, our right not to
 ‘ be search’d is a very short point, wants no dis-
 ‘ cussion, does not depend upon arguments of
 ‘ any difficulty to examine or to comprehend.
 ‘ The King of *Spain* must have known for this
 ‘ twelvemonth at least what he ought to think
 ‘ of it, and whether he will yield it or no. The
 ‘ only imaginable reason of his chicaning so
 ‘ long,

‘ long, is, that he suspected a weakness in the
‘ counsels of *England*. What was then only sus-
‘ picion, is now turn’d into certainty, and if
‘ that will make him more pliant, it is easy to
‘ judge.—

‘ As we go on with our politicks, so will the
‘ *Spaniards* with theirs. Ours have been to pro-
‘ crastinate, to put off a war at any rate, to live
‘ upon daily expedients, to endure and to treat:
‘ Theirs have been to fool us with the name of
‘ peace, and to commit all sorts of hostilities
‘ on our merchants and trade, to plunder and
‘ butcher the former, and to ruin the last.
‘ Thus it has been; thus it will continue to
‘ be.—How we find our account in it, I am
‘ unable to guess! How *Spain* finds hers in it, is
‘ too plain at first sight. If that court were
‘ bent upon undoing this nation, they need only
‘ leave us to the conduct we hold. What could
‘ they desire better, than for eighteen years more
‘ to interrupt our navigation, and destroy our
‘ trade, put us to the charge of half a dozen
‘ pacifick fleets, furnish us with a pretence for a
‘ numerous standing army to consume us at
‘ home, render us the scorn of *Europe*, and at
‘ last, to make us amends, account with us so
‘ as to receive or detain much more than they
‘ give, and keep the claim subsisting upon
‘ which they robb’d us so long? But it would
‘ be better for *England* to submit at once, throw
‘ up the trade to our colonies, and the colonies
‘ themselves, than to leave our merchants ex-
‘ pos’d to such inhuman cruelties, and suffer
‘ ourselves to be mock’d with forms of justice
‘ and law, while we are the prey, and sport, of
‘ all injustice and violence, or with insignificant
‘ treaties, which instead of giving us security,
‘ serves as a pretext and sanction for all future
‘ injuries.

‘ But we are desir’d to have confidence, to
 ‘ have hopes in the wisdom and success of
 ‘ the measures which his Majesty is advised to
 ‘ pursue.

‘ Sir, the people of *England* fear much more
 ‘ than they hope.—And have not they rea-
 ‘ son? What can a review of the past produce,
 ‘ but dread of the future? Have not these de-
 ‘ predations increas’d year after year, since twen-
 ‘ ty-one? How many fleets have been sent out
 ‘ in that time? What were they to do for us?
 ‘ To *persuade* the *Spaniards*.—To what did
 ‘ they persuade them? To make conventions
 ‘ and treaties.—What have we got by those
 ‘ treaties? New, and greater insults and wrongs.
 ‘ This was enough to induce us to suspect even
 ‘ last year, that with all our appearances of vi-
 ‘ gour, we shou’d do nothing effectual; but
 ‘ those suspicions were born down by the strong
 ‘ assurances given, that we shou’d not meet here
 ‘ again and find nothing done. What has been
 ‘ done, Sir? What is the fruit of our arma-
 ‘ ment? A temporary expedient, a poor, un-
 ‘ safe procrastination, a shameful barter of our
 ‘ future security, for the name of restitution,
 ‘ which, indeed, we make to ourselves. I won’t
 ‘ tire you with repeating what has been so fully
 ‘ made out; but when I compare this nominal,
 ‘ this ridiculous satisfaction, with the serious
 ‘ risk we run of losing our most valuable rights,
 ‘ I dare be bold to say, no other nation under
 ‘ heaven ever staked their honour and interest
 ‘ against *such counters* as these.

‘ And are we to go on still hoping, trusting
 ‘ still in spite of experience? Are our resent-
 ‘ ments perpetually to be play’d with in this
 ‘ manner, shifted off from expedient to expedi-
 ‘ ent, and from session to session? Adjourn’d
 ‘ from one treaty to another, and so on to a
 ‘ third;

‘ third; if you don’t like this, you shall the
‘ next, and when that comes, if you don’t like
‘ that neither, you may go to war. Is this the
‘ language to be held to a Parliament?—

‘ But gentlemen ask, what have you lost by
‘ deferring your war?—What have we lost?
‘ All that we gave to make it last year.—We
‘ have lost much too of our reputation, much
‘ of the esteem of mankind, much of the af-
‘ fection of our people, which is the worst of
‘ all losses. But, I beg leave to say, in answer
‘ to a great deal of reasoning which I have
‘ heard from many gentlemen, and heard with
‘ great pain, that the question is not, whether
‘ war or peace be more eligible; the question
‘ now is about maintaining your rights. If
‘ *Spain* believed us in earnest, if she did not de-
‘ pend upon our timidity, it is scarce conceiva-
‘ ble this should cost us a war. But if it did
‘ bring on one, it is a war of necessity, and it is
‘ a war, in which our neighbours have a com-
‘ mon cause with us. What was said of the
‘ war against the pirates, it wou’d be *bellum om-*
‘ *nium gentium*. Wou’d *France* take arms to o-
‘ verturn a general right, which it is as much
‘ her interest to support as ours? Wou’d she
‘ fight to establish in the crown of *Spain*, a
‘ power destructive to the freedom of com-
‘ merce, and a supreme dominion in the *Ameri-*
‘ *can* seas; or to impose that upon *England*,
‘ which she must refuse for herself? Upon the
‘ foot of all treaties this is quite impossible: We
‘ must be used as the *gens amicissima*; if *France*,
‘ or any other nation shall retain this right for
‘ themselves, they retain it for us too; it is ours
‘ by consequence. Will she break all treaties
‘ then to take it away? This wou’d be acting
‘ with a spirit of violence, which does not seem
‘ to be in her now, and which, whenever it

‘ shews itself, must unite all *Europe* to oppose
‘ its effects. Shou’d not we find one friend a-
‘ mong so many allies? Have we negotiated all
‘ the world into enemies, united them all to our
‘ destruction? If by the conduct of our mini-
‘ sters, things are brought to such an extremity,
‘ that we are reduced to the necessity of perish-
‘ ing in the just defence of our rights, or of
‘ perishing equally by losing them; the choice
‘ is easy to make; let us perish like men, and
‘ with swords in our hands. But don’t let us
‘ have the weakness to expect our safety from
‘ those, who have brought a flourishing nation
‘ to such a dreadful alternative.—What is this
‘ wretched reprieve that we have begg’d for
‘ eight months? Will that do us any good, Sir;
‘ will that be worth our acceptance? Do we
‘ really flatter ourselves that we now are at
‘ peace? Peace is a secure and unmolested en-
‘ joyment of our rights.—But peace, at the
‘ expence of rights, of essential rights, peace
‘ exposed to insults, peace exposed to injuries,
‘ is the most abject, is the most deplorable, is
‘ the most calamitous circumstance of human
‘ affairs. It is the worst effect that cou’d be
‘ produced from the most unsuccessful, the most
‘ ruinous war. No nation shou’d submit to it,
‘ while it can hold up its head: But to such a
‘ one have we submitted, without striking a
‘ stroke, and in a condition to defend ourselves,
‘ not against the *Spaniards* alone, but if our
‘ strength were wisely exerted, against any ene-
‘ mies, whom in such a quarrel we might have
‘ to oppose, notwithstanding all the terrors, now
‘ thrown out to make us believe, that the nation
‘ itself is as weak as, our enemies may think,
‘ the counsels that govern it. Yet though the
‘ weakness is not in us, we must suffer the
‘ shame of it, and all the mischiefs attending
‘ upon

‘ upon loss of honour to a nation. With what
‘ contempt and insolence are we used by *Spain*,
‘ when in the same treaty where she stipulates
‘ that we shall not have liberty to fortify *Charles-*
‘ *Town* itself, which is as undoubtedly ours, as
‘ *London* or *York*, that we must not dare to dig
‘ a ditch about it till this discussion is past, she
‘ has not granted us a short suspension of hosti-
‘ lities, a temporary observance of treaties in
‘ not searching our ships? So that far from ha-
‘ ving a peace, we have not got so much as a
‘ truce. For sure the worthy member over the
‘ way did not believe himself when he argued,
‘ that to have ask’d a cessation of injuries, would
‘ have been allowing their claim. If a man
‘ were at law with me for my estate, without
‘ any title at all, and the case was referr’d to
‘ arbitrators, shou’d I let him cut down my
‘ woods, and make what waste he pleased, till
‘ the suit was decided, for fear he shou’d inter-
‘ pret the forbidding it, as an admission of his
‘ claim? Sure an acquiescence under it would
‘ admit it much more.

‘ But, Sir, the worst of all indignities is his
‘ Catholick Majesty’s behaviour with regard to
‘ the *South-Sea* company in *La Quadra*’s protest.
‘ That he should not deign to submit his ac-
‘ counts with them to a reference, to which we
‘ have submitted things of such infinite conse-
‘ quence, as the right we have to our domini-
‘ ons, and the security of our trade, that he
‘ should value our friendship so little, as not
‘ even to grant us this treaty, unless out of an
‘ unliquidated account, the part he claims be in-
‘ stantly paid, without any regard to the ba-
‘ lance, or that upon a refusal of this, he shall
‘ deprive the company of their trade; that this
‘ should be the only condition of his agreeing
‘ to sign this convention, and that we should
‘ take

‘ take it on these terms, is, indeed, astonishing,
 ‘ even to those who are used to consider the re-
 ‘ peated insults of *Spain*, and the habitual tame-
 ‘ ness of *England*.——

‘ Sir, I entirely agree to what has been said
 ‘ by some gentlemen, that the non-compliance
 ‘ of the company to this monstrous demand will
 ‘ not forfeit what is stipulated to be paid to our
 ‘ merchants, nor directly annul the convention.
 ‘ ——To be sure it will not. But the penalty
 ‘ annex’d to it, is the depriving the company,
 ‘ during the pleasure of *Spain*, of the benefits of
 ‘ the *assiento* trade, and probably too the loss of
 ‘ their debt, against right and justice, and the
 ‘ sense of all treaties. Will our government
 ‘ admit of this? Will they agree to it as just?
 ‘ If they do, it is evident, this great body of
 ‘ our countrymen, are put out of his Majesty’s
 ‘ protection, and left at the mercy of *Spain*;
 ‘ and it is no less evident, that we buy this con-
 ‘ vention at the expence of a great national in-
 ‘ terest, and by a breach of national faith, of
 ‘ the honour and justice of Parliament, which
 ‘ has sold and confirm’d this trade to the com-
 ‘ pany. To say, this is not an article, what
 ‘ will that avail? It is much stronger than an
 ‘ article, as it is the base of the whole. It is
 ‘ much worse than an article, as the doing it in
 ‘ this way has an air of tricking and evasion,
 ‘ that wou’d shame an attorney. Gentlemen
 ‘ may distinguish and refine as much as they
 ‘ please, but on this dirty foundation this con-
 ‘ vention does stand. If every other part of it
 ‘ were as good, as it is bad and dishonourable,
 ‘ this alone shou’d oblige us to reject it with
 ‘ scorn.——With scorn, Sir, let us reject it,
 ‘ that to all we have suffer’d before, to all the
 ‘ accumulated insults that were ever heap’d on a
 ‘ nation, a worse dishonour may not be added,
 ‘ and

‘ and that dishonour fall upon the Parliament.
 ‘ And therefore I heartily give my negative to
 ‘ this question.’

The next speech we shall give, was that made
 by Colonel *Mordaunt*, who spoke to this effect,
viz.

‘ Mr. *Fane*,

‘ Sir, I have upon many occasions observed, Col. *Mor-*
daunt’s
speech.
 ‘ that by the art of ministers, or by the art of
 ‘ those who would be ministers, a popular cry
 ‘ has been raised, by which the giddy multitude
 ‘ have been, like children, led in a leading-
 ‘ string, and induced to favour or join with
 ‘ those who first raised the clamour, tho’ the
 ‘ end they were driving at, appear’d to be di-
 ‘ rectly contrary to the cry they had raised. In
 ‘ a late reign, a clamour was raised among the
 ‘ people, *That the church was in danger*. This
 ‘ cry was first begun by those who were not, but
 ‘ had a strong mind to be ministers; and it was
 ‘ echoed back by the people from all corners
 ‘ of the kingdom. Those who put the people
 ‘ into this general fright, got their aim: They
 ‘ got themselves made ministers; and they en-
 ‘ deavoured to support themselves in power, by
 ‘ the same means by which they had got it:
 ‘ During their administration, the popular cry
 ‘ continued to be, *The church was in danger*;
 ‘ and yet many are mistaken, if they were not,
 ‘ during the whole time of their administration,
 ‘ secretly driving at an end, which would have
 ‘ brought the church into real danger.

‘ Upon the present occasion, I observe, that
 ‘ the general cry raised among the people is,
 ‘ *Our trade is in danger*. I do not know, Sir,
 ‘ by whom this cry has been raised; but, I am
 ‘ sure, it has not been raised by our ministers;
 ‘ and

‘ and if it has been raised by those who are for
 ‘ involving the nation in war, it must be al-
 ‘ lowed, that the end they are pursuing, is ab-
 ‘ solutely inconsistent with the cry they have
 ‘ raised; for war will certainly bring our trade
 ‘ into real danger. At present, I cannot think
 ‘ our trade in any real danger; and I have good
 ‘ reason for thinking so; because in a debate
 ‘ of twelve hours, I observed there was but
 ‘ one merchant that spoke against this treaty;
 ‘ and now I observe, that one of our greatest
 ‘ merchants, one who ought to have as great
 ‘ a concern for trade as any member of this
 ‘ house, is sitting in a place from whence he
 ‘ cannot speak *.’

Mr. Alderman *Willimot* thinking himself point-
 ed at by the conclusion of this speech, removed
 from where he was, and after taking his seat in
 the house, he stood up and spoke in substance
 as follows, *viz.*

‘ Mr. *Fane*,

Mr. Alder-
 man *Willi-*
mot’s speech.

‘ Sir, My reason for not speaking upon this
 ‘ question, was not, because I do not think our
 ‘ trade in danger: On the contrary, I think it
 ‘ will be absolutely sacrificed, if we approve of
 ‘ this convention; but the affair has been so
 ‘ fully, and so well spoke to by other members,
 ‘ the fatal consequences of our agreeing to give
 ‘ a sanction to this preliminary, have been set in
 ‘ so clear a light, and so little said in its favour,
 ‘ that I thought there was no necessity for my
 ‘ giving you any trouble upon this occasion.

‘ Now I am called upon, Sir, I must observe,
 ‘ that our trade is at present, I think, in the
 ‘ most imminent danger. A just and a well
 ‘ con-

* *N. B.* No member can speak, unless he has taken a place within the house.

‘ conducted war can never bring our trade into
 ‘ any danger. But, if we shew that we dare
 ‘ not resent any injury that may be done to our
 ‘ trade: If we allow our merchants to be plun-
 ‘ dered, and our seamen murdered and tortured
 ‘ with impunity, our trade will not only be in
 ‘ danger, but must be undone. To this I must
 ‘ add, Sir, that with regard to the treaty now
 ‘ under our consideration, the honour of the
 ‘ nation is as much concerned as its trade; and
 ‘ therefore, it astonishes me to hear the honour-
 ‘ able gentleman that spoke last, or any gentle-
 ‘ man of his character, making light of such a
 ‘ subject; for if the gentlemen of our army
 ‘ should make themselves merry with the ho-
 ‘ nour of their country, or should join in sacri-
 ‘ ficing it, by giving a parliamentary sanction
 ‘ to an infamous treaty of peace, I am sure they
 ‘ would be at least as blameable, as those mer-
 ‘ chants who should make a joke of, or join in
 ‘ sacrificing its navigation and commerce.’

The question was at last put, and the motion agreed to upon a division; and as it was a question of great importance, we shall give the following list of those who voted and were absent upon this occasion, *viz.*

Teller for the Convention,		List of vo- ters and ab- sentees.
Salaries, <i>per Ann.</i>		
Thomas Winnington, Esq; Lord of the Treas- ury	l. 1600	
A BERCROMBY, James, <i>Bamffshire</i> , Capt. of Foot, King's Painter in Scotland, and Deputy Governor of Stir- ling Castle	600	
<i>A-Court, Pierce, Heytesbury</i> , two Brothers in the Guards		
<i>Alston, Sir Rowland, Bedfordshire</i>		
Archer,		

	Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
Archer, Thomas, <i>Warwick</i> , Trustee for Georgia		
Archer, Henry, <i>Warwick</i> , Trustee for Georgia		
Areskine, Charles, <i>Dumfreishire</i> , Lord Advocate of Scotland		1000
Arundell, Hon. Richard, <i>Knareborough</i> , Master Worker of the Mint		1500
Ashe, Jos. Windham, <i>Downton</i>		
Ashburnham, Sir Wil. <i>Hastings</i> , Commissioner of the Alienation Office and Chamberlain of the Tally Court		800
Baker, Hercules, <i>Hytbe</i> , Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital		500
Balle, Thomas, <i>Exeter</i>		
Beaghan, Edm. Hungate, <i>Winchelsea</i>		
Beauclerk, Lord Vere, <i>Windsor</i> , Lord of the Admiralty		1000
Beauclerk, Lord Sidney, <i>Windsor</i> , Brother to Lord Vere and Duke of St. Albans, obtain'd a Reversionary Grant of Crown Lands after a short Term		
Bertie, Hon. Albemarle, <i>Boston</i>		
Bevan, Arthur, <i>Caermarthen</i>		
Bisse, Ste. <i>Romney</i> , Commissioner for Victualling the Navy, Clerk of the Crown		1000
Bladen, Martin, <i>Malden</i> , Commissioner of Trade and Commissary for settling the Trade in the Netherlands		2500
Bladen, Thomas, <i>Ashburton</i>		
Bockland, Maurice, <i>Lymington</i> , Col. of the Foot Guards		500
Bond, John, <i>Corfe-Castle</i> , his Brother Letter Carrier to Hampton Court		
Bowles, Brig. Phineas, <i>Bewdley</i> , Col. of a Regiment of Dragoons in Ireland, and Brigadier on the Irish Establishment		2000
Boyne, Lord Viscount, <i>Newport</i> , Commissioner		

Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
fioner of the Revenue in Ireland	1000
Boyn-ton, Sir Francis, Heydon, his Son in the Army	
Brad-shaigh, Sir Roger, Wigan, his Sons in the Army and at Court	
Bradshaw, Elerker, Beverley	
Brassey, Nathaniel, Hertford	
Brereton, Tho. Liverpool, Commissioner of the Victualing Office, his Son in the Lottery Office	500
Bridges, Geo. Winchester	
Bristow, John, Berealston, Deputy Governor of the South-Sea Company	
Bristow, Robert, Winchelsea	
Brodie, Alex. Elgin-shire, Lyon King at Arms, &c.	800
Brodie, Alex. Nairn-shire, his Brother a Company in New York	
Bromley, Hen. Cambridgeshire, Lieut. of the County of Cambridge	
Brown, Sir Robert, Iwelchester	
Brudenell, Hon. James, Chichester, Commissioner of Trade, Groom of the Bed Chamber, and Gentleman of the Horse to his Majesty	2000
Burchet, Josiah, Sandwich, Secretary of the Admiralty	1200
Burrell, Peter, Haslemere, Sub-Governor of the South-Sea Company	
Butler, James, Sussex	
Byng, Robert, Plymouth, Commissioner of the Navy, and since Governor of Barbadoes	500
Campbell, Brig. James, Airshire, Col. of the Regiment of Grey Dragoons, and Groom of the Bed Chamber, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle	3800
Campbell, Colonel John, Dumbartonshire, Groom	

	Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
Groom of the Bed Chamber, and Col. of a Regiment of Foot, and his Daughter Keeper of Somerset House		1400
Campbell, John, <i>Pembrokeshire</i> , Lord of the Admiralty, with Lodging, Fire and Candle		1300
<i>Carmichael</i> , Hon. James, <i>Lanarkshire</i> , Brother to the Earl of Hindford, a Lord of the Police, and Commissioner to the Assembly in Scotland		
Cary, Walter, <i>Dartmouth</i> , Clerk of the Green Cloth, and of the Council		1500
<i>Caswell</i> , Sir George, <i>Leominster</i>		
Cavendish, Philip, <i>Portsmouth</i> , Admiral of the Blue, and Porter of St. James's Palace		600
<i>Champion</i> , Sir Geo. <i>Aylesbury</i> , B. B.		
Cholmondeley, Hon. Ja. <i>Camelford</i> , Lieut. Governor of Chester Castle, and Lieut. Col. of the Horse Guards		1000
Churchill, Cha. <i>Castle-Rising</i> , Major General, Groom of the Bed Chamber to his Majesty, Col. of a Regiment of Dragoons, and Gov. of Plymouth, &c. and his Son a Place in the Custom House, in all		4800
Chute, Anthony, <i>Yarmouth</i>		
Clavering, John, <i>Penryn</i> , Groom of the Bed Chamber to his Majesty		500
<i>Clayton</i> , Sir William, <i>Bleckingly</i> , Seventeen of his Relations in Place		
Clayton, Kenrick, <i>Bleckingly</i> , Son to Sir William		
Clutterbuck, Thomas, <i>Plympton</i> , Lord of the Admiralty		1000
Conolly, William, <i>Alborough</i>		
Cope, Brig. Gen. John, <i>Orford</i> , Col. of a Regiment of Dragoons in Ireland		1500
Cope,		

	Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
Cope, Sir John, Lymington, his Son a Place at Court, &c.		
Copleston, Thomas, Kellington, Clerk of the Quit-Rents and Forfeitures Office in Ireland		600
Corbet, William, Montgomery, his Father a Commissioner of the Customs		
Corbet, Tho. Saltaſh, Under-Secretary to the Admiralty, and Sec. to Greenwich Hospital and to the Widows Charity		800
Cornewall, James, Weobly, Capt. of a Man of War		400
Conwallis, Hon. Ste. Eye, Col. of a Reg. of Foot in England		1200
Cornwallis, Hon. John, Eye		
Crowle, George, Kingston upon Hull, Commissioner of the Navy		500
Curwen, Edw. Cockermouth		
Danvers, Joſeph, Totneſs		
Darcy, Sir Conyers, Richmond, Comptroller of the Household		1000
Dennis, Geo. Leſkard, Comptroller of the Lotteries		500
Doddington, Geo. Bridgwater, Lord of the Treasury and Clerk of the Pells in Ireland		3100
Doddington, Geo. Weymouth		
Douglas, Hon. Robert, Orkney, Capt. of a Company of Foot		250
Downing, Sir Geo. Dunwich, Knight of the Bath		
Drummond, John, Dundee, &c. Commiſſary for ſettling the Trade in the Netherlands, and his Nephew Secretary to the Order of the Thistle		1500
Duckett, Coll. Will. Caln, Lieut. Col. in the Horſe Grenadier Guards		500
Duncombe, Anthony, Downton		

Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
Dummer, Tho. <i>Southampton</i> , his Father and self Places in the Great Wardrobe	1200
Earle, Giles, <i>Malmesbury</i> , Lord of the Trea- sury	1600
Earl, William Rawlinson, <i>Malmesbury</i> , Clerk of Deliveries in the Ordnance Office	600
Edgecumbe, Richard, <i>Lestwithiel</i> , Joint Trea- surer of Ireland	4000
Euston, Lord, <i>Coventry</i> , Son to the Lord Chamberlain	
Evans, Richard, <i>Queenborough</i> , Capt. of Dra- goons, and Deputy Gov. of Sheerness, &c.	600
<i>Eversfield, Cha. Horsham</i>	
Eyles, Sir Joseph, <i>Devizes</i> , Brother to the Post Master General and Remitter for the Crown	2500
Eyles, Capt. Francis, <i>Devizes</i> , Commissioner for victualling the Navy	500
<i>Falconer, John, Kinkardineshire</i>	
<i>Fall, James, Jedburgh, &c.</i> a Lease in Holy Island	
Fane, Francis, <i>Taunton</i> , King's Counsel and Counsel to the Board of Trade	800
Finch, Hon. Hen. <i>Malton</i> , Receiver Gen. and Collector of the Revenues in Minorca	500
Fitzroy, Cha. <i>Thetford</i> , Master of his Ma- jesty's Tennis Courts and Cornet of Horse	400
Fox, Stephen, <i>Shaftsbury</i> , since made Joint Secretary of the Treasury	
Fox, Hen. <i>Hendon</i> , Surveyor General of his Majesty's Works	1000
Frankland, Sir Tho. <i>Thirske</i> , Lord of the Admiralty, with Lodging, Fire and Can- dle	1300
<i>Frankland, Frederick, Thirske</i> , his Brother	
Frederick, Tho. <i>Shoreham</i> , Trustee for Geor- gia	

	Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
Gage, Sir William, <i>Seaford</i> , Knight of the Bath		
Gallway, Lord Viscount, <i>Pontefract</i> , Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland		1000
Gibson, Tho. <i>Yarmouth, in Hants</i> , Conveyancer to Sir Robert Walpole and Cashier to the Pay Office		
Gildart, Richard, <i>Liverpoole</i> , his eldest Son Receiver Gen. of the Land Tax for the County of Lancaster, and two of his other Sons provided for, &c.		
Glenorchy, Lord Viscount, <i>Saltaish</i>		
Gough, Sir Henry, <i>Bramber</i>		
Gough, Capt. <i>Bramber</i> , Director of the East-India Company		
Grant, Sir James, <i>Invernessh.</i> a Grant of Duties in Scotland, his eldest Son Commissioner of Police, his second Son Capt. in the Army, and his Brother Capt. of an independent Company		
Grey, Hen. <i>Reading</i>		
Gregory, Geo. <i>Boroughbridge</i> , Store-keeper of the Ordnance		500
Griffith, John, <i>Carnarvanshire</i> , Captain of Foot		250
Grove, Gray James, <i>Bridgnorth</i>		
Gulston, Joseph, <i>Tregony</i> , Director of the South-Sea Company		
Hale, Sir Tho. <i>Canterbury</i> , his Son Clerk of the Board of Green Cloth		
Hales, Tho. <i>Grampound</i> , Clerk of the Board of Green Cloth		1000
Halket, Peter, <i>Inverkeithen</i> , Capt. of Foot		250
Hampden, John, <i>Wendover</i> , Commissary of the Stores at Gibraltar		500
Hanbury, William, <i>Monmouthshire</i> , Heir expectant to the late Lord Ranelagh's Estate		

Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
Handasyd, Brig. Roger, <i>Huntington</i> , Col. of a Reg. of Foot and Gov. of Fort Philip	2500
Harris, John, <i>Helston</i> , Treasurer to the Board of Works	600
Harvey, John, <i>Ryegate</i>	
Hay, William, <i>Seaford</i> , Commissioner of the Victualling Office	500
Heathcote, Sir John, <i>Bodmin</i> , Trustee for Georgia	
Hedworth, John, <i>Durham</i>	
Henley, Hen. Holt, <i>Lyme Rs.</i> Clerk of the Pipe	500
Herbert, Hon. Tho. <i>Newport</i> , Col. in the Foot Guards, and Paymaster to Gibraltar	1200
Herbert, Hon. Rob. <i>Wilton</i> , Commissioner of Trade	1000
Herbert, Hon. Will. <i>Wilton</i> , Colonel in the Foot Guards	500
Herbert, Hon. Arthur, <i>Ludlow</i> , Lieut. of the County of Salop	
Heron, Patrick, <i>Kirkudbright</i> , his Son a Com- pany in Georgia	
Hervey, Hon. Tho. <i>St. Edmundsbury</i> , Sur- veyor of his Majesty's Gardens and Wa- ter Works	500
Hinxman, Jos. <i>Christ-Church</i> , Woodward and Keeper of New Forest, &c.	500
Hoby, Sir Tho. <i>Great Marlow</i>	
Hoghton, Sir Hen. <i>Preston</i> , Judge Advocate	800
Holden, Sam. <i>Eastlow</i> , Director of the Bank	
Howard, Hon. Cha. <i>Carlisle</i> , Col. of a Reg. of Foot in Ireland, and Deputy Gov. of Carlisle Castle	1200
How, John, <i>Wiltshire</i>	
Howarth, Sir Humph. <i>Radnorshire</i>	
Hucks, William, <i>Wallingford</i> , the King's Brewer	

Hucks,

	Pro	Salaries, <i>per Ann.</i>
<i>Hucks, Robert, Abingdon, Son to the King's Brewer, and Trustee for Georgia</i>		
<i>Huxley, Geo. Newport in Hants, Commis- sary of the Musters</i>		800
<i>Jennison, Ralph. Northumberland, Master of the Buck Hounds</i>		2400
<i>Jewkes, John, Aldborough, Yorkshire</i>		
<i>Ingram, Hon. Cha. Horsham, Colonel of the Foot Guards</i>		500
<i>Kent, Sam. Ipswich, Distiller to the Court</i>		
<i>Kinaston, William, Shrewsbury, his Brother Sollicitor of the Customs</i>		
<i>Knight, Robert, Grimsby, Son to the late Cashire of the South-Sea Company</i>		
<i>Lambton, Hon. Durham</i>		
<i>Laroche, John, Bodmyn, Trustee for Geor- gia</i>		
<i>Lawrie, Sir Robert, Kirkudbright, Son-in-law to the Lord Advocate for Scotland</i>		
<i>Lawton, John, Newcastle under Line</i>		
<i>Leathes, Carteret, Harwich</i>		
<i>Lebeup, Isaac, Kellington, Brother-in-law to Hor. Walpole, and sent formerly Mini- ster to Germany, and his Brothers and Relations provided for</i>		
<i>Lewis, Tho. Radnor, several Relations in the Customs, &c. of his recommending and his Brother</i>		
<i>Liddell, Sir Hen. Morpeth</i>		
<i>Liddell, Geo. Berwick, Director for Greenwich Hospital of Lord Derwentwater's Estates</i>		
<i>Lindesay, Patrick, Edinburgh, his Brother-in- Law Receiver Gen. in Scotland</i>		
<i>Lockyer, Charles, Ivelchester</i>		
<i>Longueville, Charles, Eastlow, Auditor to the late Queen, besides his other Employ- ment</i>		800

	Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
<i>Lowther, Sir William, Pontefract</i> , his Brother a Place in the Customs		
<i>Lloyd, Walter, Cardiganshire</i> , Attorney-Ge- neral in Wales		300
<i>Lloyd, Richard, Cardigan</i>		
<i>Lyttleton, Sir Tho. Camelford</i> , Lord of the Admiralty, with Lodging, Fire and Can- dle		1300
<i>Maister, Henry, Kingston upon Hull</i>		
<i>Martin, Matthew, Colchester</i> , Director of the East-India Company		
<i>Maule, Wil. Dundee, &c.</i> Capt. of Foot, and his Brother Register of Seafings in Scot- land		250
<i>Medlicott, Tho. Milburne Port</i>		
<i>Middlesex, Earl, East-Grinstead</i> , Son to the Lord-Steward		
<i>Middleton, Sir William, Northumberland</i>		
<i>Middleton, Brig. John, Montrose</i> , Col. of a Reg. of Foot in England, Gov. of Holy- Island, and Purveyor of Coal and Candle for the Guard-Room in the Cannon-Gate		1400
<i>Mill, Sir Richard, Penryn</i>		
<i>Monson, Charles, Lincoln</i> , Deputy Pay-mas- ter of the Army		1000
<i>Montagu, Lord Robert, Huntingdon</i> , Vice- Chamberlain to her late Majesty		500
<i>Mordaunt, John, Nottinghamshire</i> , Husband to a Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the late Queen		500
<i>Mordaunt, John, Whitchurch</i> , Col. in the Foot- Guards, and Equerry to the King		800
<i>Morden, William, Dunwich</i>		
<i>Morgan, Thomas, Monmouthshire</i> , Lieut. of the County of Monmouth		
<i>Munro, Sir Robert, Dingwall, &c.</i> his Bro- ther an Independant Company		
	Murray,	

	Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
Murray, Lord John, <i>Perth</i> , Colonel in the Foot-Guards		500
<i>Nasemith</i> , Sir James, <i>Peebleshire</i> , his Brother Clerk to the Commis. of Notaries in Scotland		
Norris, Sir John, <i>Rye</i> , Vice-Admiral of England, Admiral of the Red		1200
Norton, Thomas, <i>St. Edmund's-Bury</i> , Lieut. Gov. of Chelsea-College		600
Olmus, John, <i>Weymouth</i>		
Onslow, Rt. Hon. Arthur, <i>Surrey</i> , Speaker of the House of Commons, Chancellor to the late Queen, and Treasurer of the Navy		5000
Onslow, Richard, <i>Guildford</i> , Col. of a Reg. of Foot, and Adjutant-General		1600
Osbaldeston, William, <i>Scarborough</i>		
Owen, William, <i>Pembroke</i> , his two Brothers Captains of Dragoons, and his third Brother Lieut. in the Guards		
Owen, John, <i>Westlow</i> , second Brother to Wil. Owen, Capt. of a Comp. of Dragoons		300
Palmerston, Lord Visc. <i>Bossiney</i> , chief Remembrancer in the Court of Exchequer in Ireland		1000
<i>Papillon</i> , David, <i>Dover</i> , his Son a Place		
Parsons, Henry, <i>Malden</i> , Purveyor of Chelsea-College, and Commissioner for Victualling the Navy, &c. &c.		2000
Pearse, Thomas, <i>Weymouth</i> , Commissioner of the Navy		500
Peirse, Henry, <i>Northallerton</i>		
Pelham, Rt. Hon. Henry, <i>Suffex</i> , Pay-Master of his Majesty's Forces, &c.		5000
Pelham, James, <i>Newark</i> , Secretary to the Lord Chamberlain, &c.		600
Pelham, Thomas, <i>Hastings</i> , Secretary to the Embassy		

	Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
Embassy at the Court of France		600
<i>Pennington, Sir Joseph, Cumberland</i> , his Son, (by his Surrender) Comptroller of the Ex- cise-Cash		
<i>Penton, Henry, Tregony</i>		
<i>Phillipson, John, Shoreham</i> , chief Clerk in the Navy Office, since made Commissioner of the Navy		500
<i>Peers, William, Wells</i> , his Son in the Army		
<i>Pigot, Robert, Huntingdonshire</i>		
<i>Plumer, Richard, St. Maw's</i> , Commissioner of Trade		1000
<i>Plumptree, John, Nottingham</i> , Treasurer to the Ordnance		1000
<i>Polhill, David, Rochester</i> , Keeper of the Re- cords in the Tower		500
<i>Pollen, John, Andover</i>		
<i>Poulet, Hon. Peregrine, Boffiney</i> , Brother to a Lord of the Bed-Chamber to his Ma- jesty		
<i>Powlett, Lord Harry, Hampshire</i> , Lord of the Admiralty, and his Son an Ensign in the Guards		1300
<i>Purvis, George, Aldborough</i> , Comptroller of the Navy		500
<i>Read, Sir Thomas, Cricklade</i> , Clerk of the Board of Green Cloth		1000
<i>Revell, Thomas, Dover</i> , Commissioner for Victualling the Navy, and Contractor for Gibraltar		2000
<i>Rich, Sir Robert, St. Ives</i> , Groom of the Bed-Chamber, and Col. of a Reg. of Dra- goons, and his Son a Cornet of Dragoons		2800
<i>Robinson, Nicholas, Wotton-Basset</i> , Capt. of a Sloop to prevent Smuggling		500
<i>Rose, Hugh, Ross</i> , his Uncle Lieut. Col. of Dragoons		
<i>Ryder, Dudley, Tiverton</i> , Attorney-Gen.		1500
<i>Sackville,</i>		

	Pro	Salaries, <i>per Ann.</i>
Sackville, Lord John, <i>Tamworth</i> , Son to the Lord-Steward, Capt. of a Comp. of Foot	250	
St. Clair, James, <i>Sutherland</i> , Col. of a Reg. of Foot, and of two Battalions	2000	
St. John, Pawlet, <i>Winchester</i>		
Scroope, John, <i>Lyme-Regis</i> , Secretary to the Treasury	3000	
Selwyn, John, sen. <i>Gloucester</i> , late Receiver-General of the Customs, and surrendered it to his Brother, Treasurer to the late Queen	4600	
Selwyn, John, jun. <i>Whitechurch</i> , Treasurer to the Duke and Princeesses, and the Reversion of two Places in the West-Indies	800	
Shelley, Sir John, <i>Arundell</i> , Brother-in-law to the Duke of Newcastle, his Brother a Commissioner of the Stamp-Duty		
Sloper, William, <i>Great Bedwin</i> , Deputy Conferer	1000	
Smelt, Leonard, <i>Northallerton</i> , Clerk of the Ordnance	700	
Stert, Arthur, <i>Plymouth</i> , Commissary for settling the Merchants Losses by the Spaniards ever since the Year 1728	1000	
Stewart, Hon. Col. James, <i>Wigtoun</i> , Col. in the Guards	500	
Stewart, William, <i>Bamff</i> , &c. Pay-Master of foreign Pensions, and Overseer of the King's Swans, and principal King's Remembrancer for the Exchequer in Scotland	1400	
Strange, John, <i>Westlow</i> , Solicitor-General	1000	
Sundon, Lord, <i>Westminster</i> , Lord of the Treasury	1600	
Talbot, Hon. John, <i>Brecon</i>		
Thompson, Edward, <i>York</i> , Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland	1000	
Thompson, William, <i>Scarborough</i> , Commissioner		

	Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
tioner for Victualling the Navy		500
Tower, Thomas, <i>Wallingford</i> , Trustee for Georgia		
Townshend, Hon. Tho. <i>Cambridge Univers.</i>		
Teller of the Exchequer		2000
Tracey, Robert, <i>Tewksbury</i> , Trustee for Georgia		
Treby, George, <i>Dartmouth</i> , Master of the Household		1000
Trefusis, Thomas, <i>Grampound</i> , Captain of a Man of War		400
Trenchard, George, <i>Pool</i>		
Trevor, John Morley, <i>Lewis</i>		
Tucker, John, <i>Weymouth</i> , his Father a Grant of the Quarries in Portland		
Turner, Sir John, <i>Lynn</i> , many of his Relations in Places		
Turner, Cholmley, <i>York</i>		
Turner, Will. Hofmanden, <i>Maidstone</i>		
Tyrconnel, Lord Viscount, <i>Grantham</i> , Trustee for Georgia		
Tyrrel, James, <i>Boroughbridge</i> , Major-General, and Col. of a Regiment of Foot, and Gov. of Tilbury Fort, &c.		1800
Urquhart, Duncan, <i>Forreßs</i> , &c. Lieut. in the Foot Guards, and his Father Receiver of the Bishops Rents		200
Vere, Thomas, <i>Norwich</i>		
Wade, George, <i>Bath</i> , General of his Majesty's Forces in Scotland, Col. of a Reg. of Horse, and Gov. of Fort William		4000
Wager, Sir Charles, <i>Westminster</i> , first Lord of the Admiralty, and Admiral of the White, &c.		3600
Walker, Thomas, <i>Plympton</i> , Surveyor-General of the Crown Lands, &c.		1500
Wallingford, Lord, <i>Banbury</i> , Major in the Horse Guards		500
Walpole,		

Pro	Salaries, per Ann.
Walpole, Sir Robert, <i>Lynn</i> , Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, Commissioner of the Treasury, &c. &c. &c.	8000
Walpole, Horatio, <i>Norwich</i> , Ambassador Extraordinary, and Plenipo. to the States General, Cofferer to his Majesty, and Auditor-General to the Plantations, &c. &c.	11000
Walpole, Edward, <i>Yarmouth</i> , now Clerk of the Pells, late Secretary to the Treasury of Ireland, &c.	4000
Wardour, William, <i>Fowey</i> , his Brother Lieut. Col. in the Horse Guards	
White, John, <i>Retford</i> , Trustee for Georgia	
Whitworth, Francis, <i>Minehead</i> , Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Forests	1000
Williams, Sir Nich. <i>Carnarvanshire</i> , Lieut. of the County of Carmarthen, and Keeper of the Court Leets	500
Wills, Sir Charles, <i>Totness</i> , Col. of the first Regiment of Foot Guards, and Lieut. Gen. of Foot and Ordnance	4000
Wilmer, William, <i>Northampton</i>	
Wilkinson, Andrew, <i>Aldborough</i> , <i>Yorkshire</i>	
Wollaston, William, <i>Ipswich</i> , Trustee for Georgia	
Wyndham, Thomas, <i>Pool</i>	
Wynn, Sir George, <i>Flint</i> , a Grant from the Crown of the Mines in Flintshire for 32 Years	
Wynn, Thomas, <i>Carnarvan</i> , Clerk of the Board of Green Cloth	1000
Yonge, Sir William, <i>Honiton</i> , Secretary at War	2500
Yorke, John, <i>Richmond</i> , <i>Richmond</i> .	

Teller

Teller against the Convention,
Sir John Rushout, Bart. *Evesham*.

Salaries, per Ann.

ABDY, Sir Robert, *Essex* l.
Affleck, Gilbert, *Cambridge Town*
Aislaby, William, *Rippon*, Auditor of the
Imprest for Life 2000

Andover, Lord Viscount, *Castlerising*

Archer, William, *Berks*

Ashby, Thomas, *St. Albans*

Ashley, Solomon, *Bridport*, lock'd out the
first Day, but voted against it the second

Astley, Sir John, *Salop*

Aston, Sir Thomas, *St. Albans*

Bacon, Sir Edmund, *Norfolk*

Bagot, Sir Walter Wagstaff, *Staffordshire*

Baltimore, Lord, *St. Germans*, Gentleman
of the Bed-chamber to the Prince 600

Bampfylde, John, *Devonshire*

Bance, John, *Westbury*, Director of the Bank

Bankes, John, *Corf-Castle*

Barnard, Sir John, *London*

Barrymore, Earl, *Wigan*

Bathurst, Hon. Benjamin, *Gloucestershire*

Bathurst, Hon. Henry, *Cirencester*

Bathurst, Benjamin, *Gloucester*

Bathurst, Peter, *New Sarum*

Bayley, Nicholas, *Anglesea*

Baynton-Rolt, Edward, *Chippenham*

Berkeley, Hon. George, *Heydon*, Master of
St. Katherine's Hospital, London, for
Life 400

Berkeley, Hon. John, *Stockbridge*

Blackett, Walter, *Newcastle*

Bold, Peter, *Lancashire*

Boon, Daniel, *Luggerball*

Bootle, Thomas, *Midhurst*

Bowes, George, *Durham County*

Bramston,

	Contra	Salaries, <i>per Ann.</i>
Bramston, Thomas, <i>Essex</i>		
Browne, John, <i>Dorchester</i> , King's Council		
Browne, Robert, <i>Dorchester</i>		
Buckworth, Sir John, <i>Weobly</i>		
Burgoyne, Sir Roger, <i>Bedfordshire</i>		
Butler, Dr. Edward, <i>Oxford University</i>		
Cæsar, Charles, <i>Hertfordshire</i>		
Campbell, Brig. Peter, <i>Buteshire</i> , Lieut. Governor of Portsmouth		300
Campbell, Charles, <i>Shire of Argyle</i> , Captain of Foot		250
Campbell, John, <i>Renfrew, &c.</i> Equerry to the Duke, and Cornet of Horse		340
Carew, Sir William, <i>Cornwall</i>		
Carew, Thomas, <i>Minehead</i>		
Carnarvon, Marquis of, <i>Steyning</i> , Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince		600
Cartwright, Thomas, <i>Northamptonshire</i>		
Chafin, George, <i>Dorchester</i>		
Chamberlayne, George, <i>Buckingham</i>		
Chester, Thomas, <i>Gloucestershire</i>		
Chetwynd, Lord Viscount, <i>Stafford</i>		
Chetwynd, William, <i>Stafford</i>		
Child, Sir Francis, <i>Middlesex</i>		
Chichester, Sir John, <i>Barnstaple</i>		
Cholmondeley, Charles, <i>Cheshire</i>		
Clifton, Sir Robert, <i>Retford</i>		
Codrington, John, <i>Bath</i>		
Compton, Hon. George, <i>Northampton</i>		
Cornbury, Lord Viscount, <i>Oxford University</i>		
Cornewall, Velters, <i>Herefordshire</i>		
Coster, Thomas, <i>Bristol</i>		
Cotes, Dr. Charles, <i>Tamworth</i>		
Cotton, Sir John Hynde, <i>Cambridge Town</i>		
Courtney, Sir William, <i>Honiton</i>		
Courtney, Kellond, <i>Truro</i>		
Crawley, John, <i>Marlborough</i>		
Crewe, John, <i>Cheshire</i>		

Cunning-

Contra	Salaries, per Ann.
Cunningham, Alexander, <i>Renfrewshire</i>	
Curzon, Sir Nathaniel, <i>Derbyshire</i>	
Dalrymple, Hon. William, <i>Wigtoun, &c.</i>	
Davers, Sir Jermyn, <i>Suffolk</i>	
Dawkins, James, <i>Woodstock</i>	
Delme, Peter, <i>Luggershall</i>	
Dering, Sir Edward, <i>Kent</i>	
Devereux, Hon. Price, <i>Montgomeryshire</i>	
Digby, Hon. Edward, <i>Warwickshire</i> , Trustee for Georgia	
Drax, Henry, <i>Wareham</i>	
Duncombe, Thomas, <i>Rippon</i>	
Elliot, Richard, <i>Leskard</i> , Receiver-General to the Prince	500
Elton, Sir Abraham, <i>Bristol</i>	
Ereskine, Hon. James, <i>Clackmannan</i> , Secretary to the Prince for Scots Affairs	
Evans, Hon. George, <i>Westbury</i>	
Evelyn, John, <i>Helston</i> , Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince	400
Fagg, Sir Robert, <i>Steyning</i>	
Fazakerley, Nicholas, <i>Preston</i>	
Fenwick, Robert, <i>Lancaster</i> , Attorney-Gen. and King's Serjeant in the Dutchy of Lancaster	
Fenwick, Nicholas, <i>Newcastle upon Tyne</i>	
Finch, Hon. William, <i>Cockermouth</i>	
Finch, Hon. John, <i>Higham-Ferrers</i> , King's Counsel	
Finch, Hon. John, <i>Maidstone</i>	
Foley, Edward, <i>Droitwich</i>	
Forbes, Sir Arthur, <i>Aberdeenshire</i>	
Fortescue, Theophilus, <i>Barnstaple</i>	
Fox, George, <i>Hindon</i>	
Furnese, Henry, <i>Morpeth</i>	
Fydall, Richard, <i>Boston</i>	
Gage, Lord Viscount, <i>Tewksbury</i>	
Gibbon, Edward, <i>Petersfield</i>	
Gilmour,	

	Contra	Salaries, <i>per Ann.</i>
Gilmour, Sir Charles,	<i>Edinburgh</i>	
Gore, Thomas,	<i>Agmondesham</i>	
Gower, Hon. W. Leveson,	<i>Staffordshire</i>	
Gower, Hon. Bap. Leveson,	<i>Newcastle under</i>	
<i>Line</i>		
Grey, Lord,	<i>Leicestershire</i>	
Greenville, Richard,	<i>Buckingham</i>	
Grosvenor, Sir Robert,	<i>Chester</i>	
Guidott, William,	<i>Andover</i>	
Gybbon, Philip,	<i>Rye</i>	
Hamilton, Lord Arch.	<i>Queenborough, Cof-</i>	
ferer to the Prince, and Surveyor-General		
of Cornwall		1200
Hamilton, Sir James,	<i>Lanerkshire</i>	
Harley, Edward,	<i>Herefordshire</i>	
Harley, Robert,	<i>Leominster</i>	
Harvey, Michael,	<i>Milborn-Port</i>	
Heathcote, Sir William,	<i>Southampton, Truf-</i>	
tee for Georgia		
Heathcote, George,	<i>Southwark, Trustee for</i>	
Georgia		
Herbert, James,	<i>Oxford City</i>	
Hill, Sir Rowland,	<i>Litchfield</i>	
Holmes, Thomas,	<i>Newton, Isle of Wight</i>	
Hooper, Edward,	<i>Christ-Church</i>	
Horner, T. Strangeways,	<i>Somersetshire</i>	
Houblon, Jacob,	<i>Colchester</i>	
Hume-Campbell, Hon. Alex.	<i>Shire of Ber-</i>	
<i>wick</i>		
Hungerford, Walter,	<i>Calne</i>	
Hylton, John,	<i>Carlisle</i>	
Jefferys, John,	<i>Breconsfire</i>	
Inwin, Thomas,	<i>Southwark</i>	
Irby, Sir William,	<i>Launceston, Chamberlain</i>	
to the Princess		500
Isham, Sir Edmund,	<i>Northamptonshire, Judge</i>	
Marshal, and Lord High Admiral's Ad-		
vocate		
	Kay,	

	Contra	Salaries, per Ann.
Kay, Sir John Lister, <i>York</i>		
Kynaſton, Corbet, <i>Salop</i>		
Kynaſton, Edward, <i>Biſhop's-Caſtle</i>		
Knight, Thomas, <i>Canterbury</i>		
Lechmere, Edmund, <i>Worceſterſhire</i>		
Lee, Sir Thomas, <i>Bucks</i>		
Lee, Dr. George, <i>Brackley</i>		
Leſlie, Hon. Tho. <i>Dyſert, &c.</i> a Lieutenant of Dragoons, Half-Pay		50
Levinz, William, <i>Nottinghamſhire</i>		
Limerick, Lord Viſcount, <i>Wendover</i> , Truſ- tee for Georgia		
Liſle, Edward, <i>Hampſhire</i>		
Liſter, Thomas, <i>Clitheroe</i>		
Lockwood, Richard, <i>Worceſter</i>		
Long, Sir Robert, <i>Wotton-Baſſet</i>		
Long, Richard, <i>Chippenham</i>		
Lowther, Hon. Anthony, <i>Westmoreland</i>		
Lyttelton, George, <i>Oakhampton</i> , Secretary to the Prince		866-13-4
Mackworth, Herbert, <i>Cardiffe</i>		
Manners, Lord William, <i>Newark</i>		
Marſhall, Henry, <i>Agmondeſham</i>		
Maſter, Thomas, <i>Cirenceſter</i>		
Maſter, Leigh, <i>Newton, Lanc.</i>		
Meadows, Sidney, <i>Taviſtock</i>		
Methuen, Sir Paul, <i>Brackley</i>		
Moleſworth, Sir John, <i>Newport</i>		
Monoux, Sir Humphry, <i>Stockbridge</i>		
Montagu, Edward, <i>Huntingdon</i>		
Mordaunt, Sir Charles, <i>Warwickſhire</i>		
Morgan, Sir John, <i>Hereford</i>		
Morrice, Sir William, <i>Launceſton</i>		
Moſtyn, Sir Thomas, <i>Flintſhire</i>		
Murray, John, <i>Selkirkſhire</i>		
Myddleton, John, <i>Denbigh</i>		
Nedham, Robert, <i>Old Sarum</i>		
Newton, Sir Michael, <i>Grantham</i>		
		Newland,

	Contra	Salaries, <i>per Ann.</i>
Newland, George, <i>Gatton</i>		
Noel, Hon. James, <i>Rutlandshire</i>		
Noel, Thomas, <i>Rutlandshire</i>		
Noel, William, <i>Stamford</i> , King's Counsel		
Ongley, Samuel, <i>Bedford</i>		
Ord, Robert, <i>St. Michael's</i>		
Oxenden, Sir George, <i>Sandwich</i>		
Packer, Winch. Howard, <i>Berks</i>		
Packington, Sir Herbert, <i>Worcestershire</i>		
Parker, Armsted, <i>Peterborough</i>		
Parsons, Humphrey, <i>London</i>		
Peachey, Sir John, <i>Midhurst</i>		
Perry, Micajah, <i>Lord Mayor, London</i>		
Pitt, William, <i>Old Sarum</i> , Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince		400
Pitt, John, <i>Wareham</i>		
Pitt, Thomas, <i>Oakhampton</i> , a Pay-Master for the Coinage of Tin		300
Pleydell, Edm. Morton, <i>Dorsetshire</i>		
Polwarth, Lord, <i>Berwick</i>		
Popham, Edward, <i>Great Bedwin</i>		
Portman, Henry-William, <i>Taunton</i>		
Powel, Sir Christopher, <i>Kent</i>		
Powys, Richard, <i>Orford</i>		
Praed, Wm. Mackworth, <i>St. Ives</i>		
Price, Richard, <i>Sudbury</i>		
Proby, John, <i>Stamford</i>		
Pulteney, William, <i>Middlesex</i>		
Ramfden, Sir John, <i>Apulby</i>		
Rashleigh, Jonathan, <i>Fowey</i>		
Rowney, Thomas, <i>Oxford</i>		
Rutherford, John, <i>Roxburgh</i>		
St. Aubin, Sir John, <i>Cornwall</i>		
Sambrooke, Sir Jeremy, <i>Bedford</i>		
Sandys, Samuel, <i>Worcester</i>		
Saunderson, Sir Thomas, <i>Lincolnshire</i> , Trea- surer to the Prince		1200
Scawen, Thomas, <i>Surrey</i>		
VOL. XVIII.	G	Seymour,

	Contra	Salaries, per Ann.
Seymour, Francis, <i>Marlborough</i>		
Shafto, John, <i>Durham City</i>		
Shepherd, Samuel, <i>Cambridgeshire</i>		
Shippen, William, <i>Newton, Lanc.</i>		
Shuttleworth, Richard, <i>Lancaster</i>		
Sibthorp, Coningsby, <i>Lincoln</i>		
Slingsby, Sir Henry, <i>Knareborough</i>		
Smith, Edward, <i>Leicestershire</i>		
Somerfet, Lord Noel, <i>Monmouth</i>		
Spencer, Hon. John, <i>Woodstock</i>		
Stanhope, Hon. Sir Wm. <i>Bucks</i>		
Stanhope, Hon. John, <i>Derby</i>		
Stanhope, Charles, <i>Harwich</i>		
Stapleton, Sir William, <i>Oxfordshire</i>		
Stapylton, Sir Miles, <i>Yorkshire</i>		
Stephenfon, Edward, <i>Sudbury</i>		
Stewart, Admiral Charles, <i>Portsmouth</i> , Vice-		
Admiral of the White		400
Talbot, John Ivory, <i>Wiltshire</i>		
Taylor, William, <i>Evesham</i>		
Townshend, Hon. Roger, <i>Great Yarmouth</i> ,		
Captain of Horse		500
Trefusis, Robert, <i>Truro</i>		
Vane, Hon. Henry, <i>St. Maws</i>		
Vaughan, William, <i>Merionethshire</i>		
Vernon, Sir Charles, <i>Chippen-Wycomb</i>		
Vernon, Geo. Venables, <i>Litchfield</i>		
Vyner, Robert, <i>Lincolnshire</i>		
Waller, Edmund, <i>Great Marlow</i>		
Waller, Henry, <i>Chippen-Wycomb</i>		
Warren, Borlace, <i>Nottingham</i>		
Whitmore, Thomas, <i>Bridgnorth</i>		
Wigley, James, <i>Leicester</i>		
Willimott, Robert, <i>London</i>		
Wodehouse, Armine, <i>Norfolk</i>		
Worsley, James, <i>Newtown, Isle of Wight</i>		
Wortley-Montagu, Edward, <i>Peterborough</i>		
Wrighte, George, <i>Leicester</i>		
Wynd-		

	Contra	Salaries, <i>per Ann.</i>
Wyndham, Sir William, <i>Somersetshire</i>		
Wyndham, Charles, <i>Bridgwater</i>		
Wynn, Watkin Williams, <i>Denbighshire</i>		
Yates, Thomas, <i>Chichester</i> .		

The Names of those who were absent.

ANSTRUTHER, Sir John, *Shire of Fife*, Master of the King's Works in Scotland 400

Anstruther, Brig. Ph. *Petten-Weem, &c.* a Col. of a Regiment of Foot, and Lieut. Governor of Minorca 3000

Arscott, Arthur, *Tiverton*, Brother-in-Law to Sir W. Yonge

Ash, Edward, *Heytesbury*, Commissioner of Trade (absent with Cha. Pelham) 1000

Ashley, Solomon, *Heytesbury*, lock'd out by Accident upon the Division in the Committee, but present the next Day upon the Report, and voted against the Address

Austen, Sir Robert, *Romney*

Bennet, Philip, *Shaftesbury*

Bowles, William, *Bridport*

Bulckeley, Lord Viscount, *Beaumaris*

Bunbury, Sir Charles, *Cheshire*

Campbell, Sir James, *Sterling*, Muster-Master General in Scotland 800

Cavendish, Lord Charles, *Derbyshire*, Brother to the Duke of Devonshire

Cavendish, Lord James, *Derbyshire*, Uncle to the Duke of Devonshire

Clerke, Sir Thomas, *Hertford*

Cocks, James, *Ryegate*

Cockburne, John, *Haddingtonshire*

Conyers, Edward, *East-Grinstead*

Corbet, Sir Richard, *Shrewsbury*

Salaries, per Ann.

Crofs, Sir John, <i>Lestwithiel</i>	
Curzon, William, <i>Clitheroe</i>	
Docminique, Charles, <i>Gatton</i>	
Drake, Sir Francis, <i>Berealston</i>	
Fane, Hon. Charles, <i>Tavistock</i> , (absent with Mr. Mansel) Envoy to the Court of Florence	1800
Finch, Hon. Edward, <i>Camb. University</i> , Envoy and Plenipotentiary in Sweden	2300
Fitzroy, Lord Augustus, <i>Thetford</i> , Captain of a Man of War	400
Firebrace, Sir Cordell, <i>Suffolk</i>	
Foley, Thomas, <i>Hereford</i>	
Forester, William, <i>Wenlock</i>	
Forester, Brook, <i>Wenlock</i> , his Son	
Glanville, William, <i>Hythe</i> , Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland, lock'd out	1000
Gore, William, <i>Cricklade</i>	
Haddock, Nicholas, <i>Rocheſter</i> , Admiral and Commander of the Fleet in the Mediterranean	2000
Hamilton, Alexander, <i>Linlithgowſhire</i>	
Herbert, Richard, <i>Ludlow</i>	
Hoare, Henry, <i>New Sarum</i>	
Jolliff, Sir William, <i>Petersfield</i>	
Lowther, Sir Thomas, <i>Lancaster</i>	
Lowther, Sir James, <i>Cumberland</i>	
Lumley, Hon. John, <i>Arundell</i> , Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince and Col. in the Guards	900
Mansel, Hon. Buſſy, <i>Glamorganshire</i> , (absent with Mr. Fane)	
Montagu, Charles, <i>St. Germans</i> , Auditor to the Prince and County of Cornwall	500
More, Robert, <i>Bishop's-Caſtle</i>	
Neal, John, <i>Coventry</i> , his Wife Dreſſer to the late Queen	300
Northcote, Sir Henry, <i>Exeter</i>	

	Salaries, <i>per Ann.</i>
Oglethorpe, James, <i>Haslemere</i> , General and Commander of his Majesty's Forces in Georgia, and Col. of a Regiment	1200
Onflow, Hon. Richard, <i>Guildford</i> , Son to Lord Onflow, Teller of the Exchequer	
Pelham, Charles, <i>Beverley</i> , absent with Ed- ward Ash	
Pelham, Thomas, <i>Lewes</i> , Commissioner of Trade	1000
Perrott, Henry, <i>Oxfordshire</i>	
Philips, Sir Erasmus, <i>Haverfordwest</i> , absent in Italy for Recovery of his Health	
Plumer, William, <i>Hertfordshire</i>	
Plumer, Walter, <i>Apulby</i>	
Pottenger, Richard, <i>Reading</i> , Welch Judge	500
Rolle, Henry, <i>Devon</i>	
Speke, George, <i>Wells</i>	
Stuart, Colonel James, <i>Air</i> , &c. a Capt. in the Foot Guards, Gent. Usher and Daily Waiter, &c.	650
Sutton, Sir Robert, <i>Grimsby</i>	
Tower, Christopher, <i>Aylesbury</i> , Trustee for Georgia	
Tuckfield, Roger, <i>Ashburton</i>	
Watts, Thomas, <i>St. Michael</i>	
Wentworth, Sir William, <i>Malton</i> , his Bro- ther a Col. of a Reg. of Foot	
Wilson, Daniel, <i>Westmoreland</i>	
The Pro's, with Chairman and Teller	262
The Contra's, with Teller	235
Those that were absent	61
	In all 558
Number of Employments	234
Annual Value	212956 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>

Resolution
reported,

Next, or rather the same day, (the division not having been over till after one o'clock in the morning) being *Friday, March 19*, the resolution of the committee was reported to the house, and a motion made for agreeing with the committee, whereupon Mr. *Pulteney* stood up and spoke to the following effect:

Mr. *Pulteney's* speech

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, As I had not yesterday an opportunity
‘ to give you my sentiments upon this question,
‘ I must now beg leave to say something upon
‘ it, because it is, I think, a question of as
‘ great importance as any one that ever came
‘ before this assembly. Sir, the plausible pre-
‘ tence of addressing the crown shall never in-
‘ duce me to betray the trust placed in me by
‘ my country; and, Sir, when I view this ques-
‘ tion in its proper light, to me it appears to be
‘ a modest demand made by the ministry, that
‘ we should, without the least satisfaction given
‘ us, strike off the long account due to us from
‘ *Spain*, for the most injurious treatment of the
‘ subjects, and the grossest insults on the crown
‘ of *Great Britain*: That we should give up all
‘ security for the exercise of that commerce,
‘ which is at present the only support of this
‘ nation: That we should give up the right of
‘ this house to arraign a pusillanimous, weak,
‘ destructive measure of the ministry, or rather
‘ one man in the ministry: In short, that we
‘ should sacrifice all that can be dear and valu-
‘ able to us, as a free people, in order to sup-
‘ port one man in his power.

‘ The honourable gentleman, Sir, who made
‘ the motion, I am sure, knows a great deal
‘ more of the secrets of this transaction than I
‘ do, and if any thing that carries the least sha-
‘ dow

‘dow of reason with it could have been offered
‘in favour of this convention, he, and his
‘friends, who have spoke on the same side,
‘are both able and willing to do it. But what
‘they have hitherto said, Sir, confirms me more
‘and more in the opinion that it is a measure
‘destructive to this nation. Gentlemen may re-
‘member that, in the last session, I was for as-
‘serting the rights of this nation in *America*,
‘after a stronger and more explicit manner than
‘we then did. For this purpose, I offered some
‘resolutions to the house, that had not the good
‘fortune to be approved of. The right honour-
‘able gentleman, who sits near me, amended,
‘or rather new modell’d them into the resoluti-
‘ons which were presented to his Majesty. I
‘foresaw, Sir, I foretold the consequence; I
‘foretold a great part of the arguments which
‘have actually been made use of this day in fa-
‘vour of the convention. But, Sir, this mea-
‘sure, tho’ we know it is the gentleman’s, is
‘far from being correspondent even to the gen-
‘tleman’s resolutions, if I may so call them.
‘The resolutions assert our undoubted right to
‘a free navigation in *America*; but this is so far
‘from being secured, or asserted by the conven-
‘tion, that it is actually given up. For, Sir,
‘if it be undoubted, why is it submitted to a
‘future discussion? To what end, Sir, are ple-
‘nipotentiaries named, if not to clear up some
‘points that remain doubtful? The very words
‘of the convention make the doubt: For we
‘there see, that the rights of navigation and
‘commerce of this nation are to be settled by
‘plenipotentiaries. Sir, they want no settling;
‘we have already found and declared what our
‘just rights are; and shall these gentlemen tell
‘us by this convention, that we are mistaken?

‘ Suppose, Sir, that a neighbouring power
 ‘ was to start a claim, which affected the inde-
 ‘ pendency of this crown and kingdom: Sup-
 ‘ pose the Parliameut had come to a resolution,
 ‘ and presented the same to his Majesty, telling
 ‘ him that the independency of his crown is
 ‘ clear and undoubted, and that we will stand
 ‘ by him to the last shilling of our fortunes, and
 ‘ the last drop of our blood; durst any minister,
 ‘ Sir, after such declaration, so far prostitute the
 ‘ dignity of his Majesty and the nation, as to
 ‘ refer the independency of the crown to the de-
 ‘ cision of——what shall I call them? two crea-
 ‘ tures of his own, distinguished by no one qua-
 ‘ lification, but a blind obedience to his com-
 ‘ mands? What *Englishman*, Sir, in this case,
 ‘ would refuse to draw his sword against such a
 ‘ minister, tho’ he were surrounded by thousands
 ‘ of his mercenary janissaries? Gentlemen may
 ‘ say this case is not in the least applicable to
 ‘ that of the convention. I own, Sir, the inde-
 ‘ pendency of the crown is not immediately af-
 ‘ fected by the claims of *Spain*: But will not
 ‘ the honour and interest of the nation, which
 ‘ supports that independency, be both affected?
 ‘ If we give up our trade, where shall we find
 ‘ resources to support ourselves either against fo-
 ‘ reign or domestick enemies? If we meanly
 ‘ stoop to the dictates of a haughty, insolent
 ‘ court; if we barter away the lives and liberties
 ‘ of our countrymen, for a sneaking, temporary,
 ‘ disgraceful expedient; what court in *Europe*
 ‘ will any longer regard us as an independent
 ‘ people?

‘ But, Sir, tho’ we had obtained from *Spain*
 ‘ much better terms, than it appears are obtain-
 ‘ ed, we have weakened the rights of this na-
 ‘ tion, by the very manner in which we treated
 ‘ about them. We treated, Sir, as humble, ab-
 ‘ ject

ject slaves would with an insolent, arbitrary master: We have yielded every point in dispute, and have not got, in our favour, one single concession. We have been treating about rights to satisfaction for injuries, for insults, for barbarities, that, I believe, were never before attempted to be palliated by any people, who ever heard of law or justice; and, Sir, what makes it still more disgraceful to us, we have been treating while the other party was still plundering: Even at the time when this mock satisfaction was obtained, the *Spaniards* were repeating the very injuries and insults, for which the honourable gentleman and his friends pretend they have made us reparation. They pretend, Sir, that this was the wisest and the most eligible way of proceeding; but I shall not stick to call it acting a part the very reverse of what was acted by the *Romans*, the wisest and the bravest people that ever liv'd: They always refused to treat with an enemy, who had gained an advantage over them; but when that enemy was subdued, they readily consented to reasonable terms. We, Sir, on the other hand, have given our enemies great advantages from our pusillanimity and compliance; we have treated with all the submission of a conquered people, and given up all the superiority we might have claimed from our strength and situation. Had we, Sir, follow'd the maxims of that wise people, we should have told the *Spaniards* our terms; if they had not accepted them, we ought to have ventured our all, rather than submitted in one article; if we had been conquered, Sir, we could not have been in a worse situation than we are put into by this treaty; and if we had conquered, then was the time to have extended our favour, if we could have done it consistently with the honour

‘ honour of *Great Britain*. This, Sir, would
 ‘ have been no romantick way of acting; it
 ‘ would have preserved our reputation, which is
 ‘ inseparable from the welfare of a trading peo-
 ‘ ple; it would have shewed our enemies, that
 ‘ we were determined to preserve our commerce
 ‘ and liberties at the hazard of our lives; and
 ‘ that whenever we come to resolutions on these
 ‘ points, we have the firmness not to depart
 ‘ from them.

‘ A right honourable gentleman, Sir, who
 ‘ sits near me, said yesterday, *That military gen-
 ‘ tlemen should have as little as possible to offer in
 ‘ affairs relating to peace or war; that as their pas-
 ‘ sion is for glory, they might be animated to seek it,
 ‘ though purchased with the ruin of their country.*
 ‘ Sir, I congratulate this assembly on the right
 ‘ honourable gentleman’s change of sentiments.
 ‘ When I look round this house, I cannot help
 ‘ seeing cause to reflect, that this was not al-
 ‘ ways his way of thinking: Neither will it be
 ‘ difficult to assign the true reason of this change
 ‘ of sentiment. For my part, I have always op-
 ‘ posed military gentlemen having much to say
 ‘ in Parliament on the affairs of peace or war;
 ‘ I wish, Sir, they had less to say or do here, on
 ‘ this very occasion: A very few hours will de-
 ‘ termine, by the part they shall take in this
 ‘ question, how far this passion for glory, the
 ‘ honourable gentleman talks of, prevails a-
 ‘ mongst them. This night, Sir, they will
 ‘ have an opportunity of shewing their zeal for
 ‘ the interest of their country, and at the same
 ‘ time gratify their ardor for action. But, Sir, in
 ‘ all deliberations of this kind, I have constantly
 ‘ observed these military gentlemen very pru-
 ‘ dently consult the peace of their country, as
 ‘ well as their own glory, by being the first to
 ‘ approve of the minister’s most destructive
 ‘ schemes,

‘ schemes, and even his pacifick measures. We
‘ all know, Sir, when it has happened otherwise,
‘ what was the consequence. They who had the
‘ courage, Sir, to follow the dictates of their
‘ own breast (I do not mean to reflect on any
‘ gentleman) were disabled from further serving
‘ their country in a military capacity: One ex-
‘ ception, Sir, I know there is, and I need not
‘ tell gentlemen, that I have in my eye one mi-
‘ litary person, great in his character, great in
‘ his capacity, great by the important offices he
‘ has discharged, who wants nothing to make
‘ him still greater, but to be stript of all the
‘ posts, of all the places he now enjoys.—But
‘ that, Sir, they dare not do.—I repeat it, Sir,
‘ they dare not. A war, as the honourable gen-
‘ tleman rightly observed, is to be avoided, if
‘ we can do it with honour; but, Sir, if we
‘ cannot do it with honour, a vigorous war is
‘ the only means of obtaining a lasting peace.
‘ It is in vain, therefore, for gentlemen to de-
‘ claim on the calamities of war; let them ra-
‘ ther, Sir, expatiate on the miseries of such a
‘ peace as we have had these eighteen years past:
‘ Let them compare these with the most dismal
‘ effects of war; the last will be found a safe, an
‘ easy, and a glorious expedient.—The honour-
‘ able gentleman says, we have no allies.—But
‘ whose fault is it, Sir?—Has not he himself
‘ been making alliances for us all this reign, and
‘ part of the last? And does he now tell us,
‘ that we have not one ally in the world? It is
‘ at least honest in the gentleman, Sir, to let us
‘ know so much. But since this is our case, let
‘ us make the best of a bad bargain; let us
‘ make use of those advantages that nature has
‘ put into our hands; let us exert the courage
‘ that our wrongs have inspired us with; in
‘ short, let us tread in the steps of our glorious
‘ ancestors.

‘ ancestors. In the great Queen *Elizabeth*’s reign,
 ‘ Sir, we neither had, nor did we stand in need
 ‘ of allies: Tho’ the nation then lay under many
 ‘ disadvantages, which are now become advan-
 ‘ tages, she, Sir, by her own power, conquer’d
 ‘ this haughty enemy, then stronger and haugh-
 ‘ tier; and shall we despair, as men without
 ‘ hope? Let us not bring ourselves into con-
 ‘ tempt, by approving this pernicious treaty;
 ‘ let us for once change our sneaking conduct,
 ‘ and all will be well.

‘ I shall now, Sir, take up no more of your
 ‘ time: There has already been so many argu-
 ‘ ments unanswerably urged by my honourable
 ‘ friends, who have spoke against this destruc-
 ‘ tive measure, that I cannot pretend to say any
 ‘ thing that will add to their weight, except
 ‘ giving my negative a second time to this ad-
 ‘ dress; which, Sir, I heartily do.’

Henry Pelham, Esq; spoke next to the follow-
 ing effect:

‘ Mr. Speaker,

Mr. Pelham’s
 speech.

‘ Sir, I am sorry to observe, that some gen-
 ‘ tlemen are never to be convinc’d or satisfy’d:
 ‘ Instead of confining what they say to the sub-
 ‘ ject of the debate, they run out in a very in-
 ‘ decent manner against those, who have the ho-
 ‘ nour to serve his Majesty; as if, for a subject
 ‘ to have the least share of the Royal Counte-
 ‘ nance, were a sufficient reason for censure and
 ‘ detraction. The honourable gentleman who
 ‘ spoke last did not, with all his parts, give one
 ‘ good reason, at least in my opinion, why we
 ‘ should disapprove, and much less censure, this
 ‘ convention: He did not think fit to point out
 ‘ how we might have got a better treaty without
 ‘ going to war; and if we should go to war,
 ‘ Sir,

‘ Sir, I should be glad to know by what means
‘ we could support that war, if we were at pre-
‘ sent to enter into it. It is very easy for gen-
‘ tlemen to find fault; but, Sir, it is to no pur-
‘ pose to find fault, unless they will at the same
‘ time point out how we could have done better.
‘ War is called for without doors, it is called for
‘ within doors; but gentlemen don’t consider,
‘ how little you can gain by war. They talk as
‘ if we were to get the *Indies*: Pray, Sir, if it
‘ was so easy, as they now affirm it is, to distress
‘ *Spain* in the *Indies*, why did we not do it du-
‘ ring the last great war, when we had the fleet
‘ of the *Dutch* to assist us? What success, Sir,
‘ had you in your descents upon their territories?
‘ If we had not, by great good fortune, got in-
‘ telligence of their galleons being arrived in
‘ port; and if they had not, by that means,
‘ fallen into our hands, I do not think, that all
‘ we did against the *Spaniards* by sea last war,
‘ (if we except an action my honourable friend
‘ behind me was engaged in) was worth men-
‘ tioning: And even in these two successful ren-
‘ counters the officers and sailors were gainers,
‘ but the publick was not; and therefore, Sir,
‘ we may conclude, that gentlemen call out for
‘ a war, because they don’t know any other me-
‘ thod for finding fault with this convention; by
‘ insisting upon this, they in effect own, that it
‘ was impossible for us, in the way of negotia-
‘ tion, to have obtained better terms. For I be-
‘ lieve, Sir, that even the honourable gentleman
‘ who spoke last, will not pretend to say, that
‘ if the ministry could have got better terms in
‘ the way of negotiation, they would not have
‘ accepted of them. But, Sir, this opposition
‘ to a measure of the ministry is no surprize to
‘ me. I heard this convention blamed in many
‘ com-

‘ companies, before it appeared in publick, and
 ‘ by people who did not know one single syllable of what it contained: Therefore, as I hear
 ‘ no new arguments against it, I look upon what
 ‘ has been said with so much vehemency, as the
 ‘ effect of passion and disappointment, rather
 ‘ than the dictates of reason. I am therefore
 ‘ for our agreeing to the address proposed.’

He was answered by *Nicholas Fazakerley, Esq;* who spoke to the following effect.

‘ Mr. Speaker,

Mr. Fazakerley's
speech.

‘ Sir, I rise up to answer for my honourable
 ‘ friend and the other gentlemen, whom I have
 ‘ the honour to be acquainted with, in regard to
 ‘ what has been said by the honourable gentleman who spoke last. As to the reasons offer'd
 ‘ against this convention, Sir, they must stand
 ‘ or fall by themselves. All that I shall say at
 ‘ present is, that they are approv'd of by every
 ‘ man of sense and honesty without doors. But
 ‘ with regard to the motives of opposing the
 ‘ convention, Sir, I take it upon me to declare
 ‘ in behalf of my friends, that they are not personal. I dare say, if there had been any one
 ‘ thing in this convention that could have been
 ‘ approved of, the honourable gentlemen would
 ‘ have given it its due weight. As for myself,
 ‘ Sir, I am far from either censuring or envying
 ‘ any gentleman, who has the honour of enjoying the Royal Favour. The right honourable
 ‘ gentleman, who, I believe, has the greatest
 ‘ share in it, is a person whom I know (from
 ‘ my own experience, Sir, I can say it) to be as
 ‘ well qualified for a first minister as any man in
 ‘ this nation. He has, Sir, in this debate, acquitted himself with as much ability as any
 ‘ gen-

‘ gentleman that hath sat in this house, who
 ‘ had so ill a cause to defend, ever did. He
 ‘ has, Sir, discharg’d the important posts he has
 ‘ enjoy’d with great capacity; and his temper
 ‘ and moderation is beyond dispute the most
 ‘ extraordinary of any man I ever knew. In
 ‘ short, Sir, his character in private life is a-
 ‘ miable even in the eyes of those who differ
 ‘ from him in publick. It may be my misfor-
 ‘ tune, Sir, that I differ with him on this, or
 ‘ any other occasion; but, Sir, I do it upon so
 ‘ strong a conviction, that our agreeing to this
 ‘ address will be the most fatal measure this
 ‘ house ever enter’d into, that if the right ho-
 ‘ nourable gentleman is determin’d to carry it
 ‘ by a majority, I shall never again speak in this
 ‘ house.’

Sir Robert Walpole reply’d to this as follows:

‘ Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ Sir, I stand up to express my acknowledg-
 ‘ ments to the honourable gentleman who spoke
 ‘ last, and am ready to do his character that
 ‘ justice which all the world does; that he is a
 ‘ very learned member, and has as thorough an
 ‘ understanding of the laws and constitutions of
 ‘ this country as any man in it. But, Sir, it is
 ‘ really surprizing, if I possess any part of those
 ‘ great abilities and qualifications the honourable
 ‘ gentleman has been so kind to ascribe to me,
 ‘ whence it should happen, that for these ten
 ‘ years past, in which the learned gentleman
 ‘ and I have sat together in this house, I have
 ‘ had the misfortune to differ with him in every
 ‘ single point that has admitted of the least de-
 ‘ bate.’

*Sir Robert
Walpole's
reply.*

Towards

Towards the end of the debate Sir *William Wyndham* rose up, and spoke as follows, *viz.*

‘ Mr. Speaker,

Sir *William Wyndham*’s
speech.

‘ Sir, I do not rise up after so long a debate,
‘ to give you again my sentiments upon the con-
‘ vention, which we are now, it seems, to ap-
‘ prove of; but to express my great concern at
‘ what I have seen happen. In all the variety
‘ of company I have kept, I have never heard
‘ a single person without doors pretend to justify
‘ this convention; and when the sentiments of
‘ particulars were such, I did not expect, when
‘ they were met together in a body, to see a
‘ majority vote for it. This must be owing
‘ to one of these two causes: Either gentlemen
‘ were convinced by the arguments made use of
‘ in this house, for justifying this convention, or
‘ there are other methods of convincing besides
‘ reason. I am not at liberty to suppose it the
‘ latter, therefore, I must suppose it the former.
‘ But this, Sir, is to me a very melancholy con-
‘ sideration; for tho’ I have attended with the
‘ utmost regard to all that has been said upon
‘ this convention, I have not heard a single ar-
‘ gument in its favour, that has had the least
‘ weight with me. This, I say, Sir, is a very
‘ melancholy consideration to me, since it makes
‘ me conclude, that I have not common sense,
‘ because I find I cannot be convinced by the
‘ strength of common reason; and therefore I
‘ think myself very unfit to do my duty in this
‘ house. While I sit here, I am resolved never
‘ to be directed by any thing but reason; and,
‘ as I must now conclude, that I do not under-
‘ stand reason when I hear it, I must think my-
‘ self incapable of doing my duty in this house;
‘ therefore I am resolved to retire to the coun-
‘ try,

‘ try, and there perform my duty as far as I am
 ‘ able, by acting in conformity to the laws, and
 ‘ in obedience to the government.

‘ However, I must beg gentlemen to consider
 ‘ the consequences of the vote they are now go-
 ‘ ing to give. This address is intended to con-
 ‘ vince mankind, that the treaty now under our
 ‘ consideration, is a reasonable and an honour-
 ‘ able treaty for this nation; but, if a majority
 ‘ of twenty-eight, in such a full house, should
 ‘ fail of that success, if the people should not
 ‘ implicitly resign their reason to a vote of this
 ‘ house, what will be the consequence? Will
 ‘ not the Parliament lose its authority? Will it
 ‘ not be thought that, even in Parliament, we
 ‘ are governed by a faction? And what the con-
 ‘ sequence of this may be, I leave to those gen-
 ‘ tlemen to consider, who are now to give their
 ‘ vote for this address. For my own part, I
 ‘ will trouble you no more; *but, with these my*
 ‘ *last words, I sincerely pray to Almighty God, who*
 ‘ *has so often wonderfully protected these kingdoms,*
 ‘ *that he will graciously continue his protection over*
 ‘ *them, by preserving us from that impending dan-*
 ‘ *ger which threatens the nation from without, and*
 ‘ *likewise from that impending danger which threat-*
 ‘ *ens our constitution from within.*’

The question being at last put, the motion
 was upon a division agreed to, 244 yeas, to 214
 noes, and the address drawn up and agreed to,
 in pursuance thereof, was as follows:

Most gracious Sovereign,

‘ **W**E your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal
 ‘ subjects, the Commons of *Great Bri-*
 ‘ *tain* in Parliament assembled, do beg leave to
 ‘ return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks, for
 ‘ having been graciously pleased to communicate

Address of
 the house of
 Commons,
 with his
 Majesty’s
 answer.

‘ to this house the convention, together with the
‘ separate articles lately concluded between your
‘ Majesty and the King of *Spain*.

‘ We beg leave to express our most grateful
‘ acknowledgments for your Majesty’s particular
‘ care and tender regard for the interest of your
‘ people, in having obtained, by the said con-
‘ vention, a final adjustment of their long de-
‘ pending demands, for the losses they had suf-
‘ tained, and an express stipulation for a pay-
‘ ment to be made them in a short time upon
‘ that account: And we beg leave to declare our
‘ satisfaction in the foundation which your Ma-
‘ jesty has laid for preventing and removing the
‘ like grievances, and causes of complaint for
‘ the future, and for preserving the peace be-
‘ tween the two nations; and our reliance on
‘ your Majesty, that from your Majesty’s con-
‘ stant attention to the honour of your crown,
‘ and undoubted rights of your people, effectual
‘ care will be taken in the solemn treaty to be
‘ made, pursuant to this convention, that the
‘ freedom of navigation in the *American* seas
‘ may be fully secured and established for the
‘ future; and that your Majesty’s subjects may
‘ enjoy, unmolested, their undoubted right of
‘ navigating and trading to and from any part
‘ of your Majesty’s dominions, without being
‘ liable to be stopped, visited, or searched on
‘ the open seas, or to any other violation of the
‘ treaties subsisting between *Great Britain* and
‘ *Spain*, as the only means to preserve, upon a
‘ lasting foundation, a good correspondence and
‘ friendship between the two crowns; and that
‘ in regulating and settling the limits of your
‘ Majesty’s dominions in *America*, in the treaty
‘ to be made with *Spain*, the greatest regard will
‘ be had to the rights and possessions belonging
‘ to your Majesty’s crown and subjects.

‘ And

‘ And we beg leave to assure your Majesty,
 ‘ that in case your Majesty’s just expectations
 ‘ shall not be answered, this house will, with the
 ‘ greatest zeal and chearfulness, support your
 ‘ Majesty in taking such measures as shall be ne-
 ‘ cessary to vindicate your Majesty’s honour, and
 ‘ to maintain your subjects in the full enjoyment
 ‘ of those rights, which they may justly claim
 ‘ by treaty, and the law of nations.’

To which address his Majesty returned the fol-
 lowing most gracious answer, *viz.*

Gentlemen,

I GIVE you my thanks for this dutiful address,
 and the confidence you repose in me. You may be
 assured, I will be wanting in nothing that may be
 necessary to maintain the just rights of my subjects,
 and the honour of my crown and kingdoms.

On Thursday, May 3, his Majesty sent the fol-
 lowing message to both houses of Parliament,
viz.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty being restrained by the laws now in
 being, from making provisions for his younger
 children out of the hereditary revenues of the crown,
 in such manner as his Royal Predecessors have usually
 done, and being desirous, that competent provisions
 may be made for the honourable support and mainte-
 nance of his dearly-beloved son the Duke of Cum-
 berland, and of his dearly-beloved daughters the
 four younger Princesses; his Majesty hopes, that he
 shall be enabled by act of Parliament to grant an
 annuity of 15,000 l. per Annum to the Duke of
 Cumberland and his issue, and an annuity of 24,000 l.
 per Annum to the four Princesses, to take effect af-

King’s mes-
 sage, as to
 his younger
 children.

ter his demise ; and recommends the consideration thereof to this house.

Bill brought
in, for set-
tling their
portions.

Upon this message a bill was immediately ordered to be brought into the house of Commons, for enabling his Majesty to make the settlements therein proposed, which was passed in that house, and sent to the Lords on the 11th of the same month, where it was read a first and second time, and instead of ordering it to be committed as usual, the Lord *Delawar* stood up, and spoke as follows :

Lord Dela-
war's speech
and motion
upon it in
the house
of Peers.

‘ My Lords,

‘ I believe it would be quite unnecessary in
‘ me, to take up your Lordships time in demon-
‘ strating the fitness and necessity, that his Ma-
‘ jesty should be impowered to make a suitable
‘ settlement upon the younger children of his
‘ Family. Nature, my Lords, dictates to his
‘ Royal Breast, that they ought to be provided
‘ for ; and it is both our duty and interest, that
‘ in the worst of events, (which heaven avert)
‘ all the branches of the Royal House should be
‘ above dependence. Every nation in *Europe* is
‘ proud of seeing the younger children of their
‘ Royal Family make a figure in the world. The
‘ provision which his Majesty has been pleased
‘ to make, is but very moderate ; 24,000 *l. per*
‘ *Annum* can never be thought too much to the
‘ four Princesses ; and 15,000 *l. per Annum* is less
‘ than, I believe, any second son of the Royal
‘ Family ever had before. The younger brother
‘ of King *Charles II.* had 100,000 *l.* settled upon
‘ him : And the small allowance to the Duke,
‘ mentioned in this bill, is a proof of his Maje-
‘ sty's moderation, and that he has the good of
‘ his kingdoms and the ease of his subjects always
‘ first in his thoughts ; therefore, my Lords, I
‘ humbly

‘ humbly move that this bill be now read a third
‘ time.’

The Lord *Carteret* spoke next to the following effect.

‘ My Lords,

‘ The worst enemy I have in the world, I am Lord Carteret's speech.
‘ persuaded, will not question my zeal for the
‘ Royal Family: But I have several objections
‘ to this bill: In the first place, my Lords,
‘ I wish it had been brought in at a more proper
‘ time than this, when the appearance of a war
‘ with *Spain* calls upon us to be as saving of the
‘ publick money as possible; in the next place,
‘ my Lords, as the Kings of *England* are ac-
‘ countable to none but heaven alone, I am a-
‘ fraid, that if (which heaven avert) his Majesty
‘ should die, the next heir may look upon this
‘ settlement as a mortgage of his revenue, which
‘ a Parliament has no power to make, and might
‘ refuse to pay it. My Lords, I don't speak
‘ without authority, I speak according to the
‘ principles of our constitution. Another rea-
‘ son, my Lords, why I am against this bill, in
‘ the manner it is now brought in, is because we
‘ cannot pass it without dispensing with a posi-
‘ tive act of Parliament made in the reign of
‘ King *William* III. and which act binds every
‘ future King up from disposing of the heredi-
‘ tary dominions of the crown longer than his
‘ own life-time. Besides, my Lords, formerly,
‘ no daughter of the Royal Family ever was
‘ provided for by Parliament, except the eldest,
‘ and that never was by way of annuity, but an
‘ express provision of a determinate sum of mo-
‘ ney paid by way of dowry. The Princess of
‘ *Orange* indeed had an annual settlement grant-
‘ ed her by Parliament; but that, my Lords,

‘ was an extraordinary case : The Parliament
‘ considered the present low circumstances of
‘ that Illustrious Family, which perhaps, with-
‘ out such an assistance, could not provide a
‘ maintenance suitable to the dignity of the first
‘ daughter of the King of *Great Britain*.

‘ My Lords, 15,000*l.* is but a very moderate
‘ provision, I own, for his Highness the Duke :
‘ It is, perhaps, too little, and I have no objec-
‘ tion to our granting it, provided it is done by
‘ way of independent provision, and that his
‘ Highness shall enter on it, either at the time
‘ of the commencement of this bill, or when he
‘ comes of age.

‘ But, my Lords, my great objection to the
‘ bill is, that in the event it will be found to put
‘ 39,000*l.* into the pockets of the minister. Con-
‘ sider, my Lords, that when the present vast ci-
‘ vil list was granted, it was granted with a view
‘ that the Prince of *Wales* was to have at least
‘ 100,000*l. per Annum* out of it. The Parlia-
‘ ment considered likewise, that his Majesty had
‘ a large Family, that he had a Queen alive, and
‘ they made it about 100,000*l.* more on that
‘ account. Now, my Lords, it is well known,
‘ that the Prince of *Wales* does not enjoy above
‘ 50,000*l. per Annum* out of the civil list ; here
‘ is 50,000*l. per Annum* saved to the govern-
‘ ment ; by the death of the Queen at least
‘ 50,000*l.* more is saved, which makes 100,000*l.*
‘ *per Annum* : Now, my Lords, if this 100,000*l.*
‘ were laid up for independent provisions to the
‘ daughters of the Royal Family, there would
‘ be soon no need for this application ; or if the
‘ publick were eased of so much of its annual
‘ burden, I should not oppose this bill. But, my
‘ Lords, it is plain there is to be no saving to
‘ the publick, for the civil list still continues the
‘ same,

‘ same, and it appears from this bill, that the
 ‘ money thus saved is not intended for that
 ‘ use.

‘ For these reasons, my Lords, I think we
 ‘ ought, at least, not to be in such a hurry in
 ‘ carrying thro’ this bill; therefore I am for put-
 ‘ ting off its being read a third time at pre-
 ‘ sent.’

The Duke of *Newcastle* spoke next as fol-
 lows:

‘ My Lords,

‘ I think it hard, that his Majesty should be
 ‘ put in a worse condition than any private gen-
 ‘ tleman in the nation, who thinks it his duty,
 ‘ if he has children, to provide for them. The
 ‘ noble Lord’s reason, drawn from what was the
 ‘ practice in former Parliaments, has no weight
 ‘ with me at all; for when provisions for the
 ‘ younger children of the Royal Family were
 ‘ made before the Restoration, the revenues were
 ‘ quite upon a different footing from what they
 ‘ are at present: The Kings then enjoyed a con-
 ‘ siderable estate in land, out of which they
 ‘ could provide for all their younger children,
 ‘ without consulting their Parliaments.

Duke of
Newcastle’s
 speech.

‘ Since the Restoration, my Lords, I think this
 ‘ is the first instance of a King of *England’s* re-
 ‘ quiring any provision to be made for the youn-
 ‘ ger children of their Family. King *Charles II.*
 ‘ had none to provide for; those of King *James*
 ‘ were married before he came to the throne;
 ‘ King *William III.* had none; Queen *Anne* had
 ‘ but one son, who died before her accession;
 ‘ and the daughters of King *George I.* were mar-
 ‘ ried before he was King: Therefore, my
 ‘ Lords, we have no precedent that answers this
 ‘ case. The noble Lord says, that if we pass

‘ this bill, we must dispense with an act of Par-
 ‘ liament; my Lords, that is the very reason
 ‘ why we should pass it; because, tho’ the thing
 ‘ is absolutely proper in itself, yet it cannot be
 ‘ done unless we pass this bill.

‘ As to his Lordship’s objection to encreasing
 ‘ the civil list, I think it has nothing to do
 ‘ with the present question. If the purposes for
 ‘ which the civil list is granted are answered, we
 ‘ have no right to ask an account in what man-
 ‘ ner the money is applied, or thro’ whose
 ‘ hands it passes. If his Majesty has a larger
 ‘ civil list than his predecessors, he has likewise
 ‘ more to do with it, and there is not a child of
 ‘ the Royal Family who is not supported as li-
 ‘ berally as the civil list can afford.

‘ I had almost forgot another objection of the
 ‘ noble Lord’s; his Lordship seemed to doubt
 ‘ if this act of Parliament could bind a succeed-
 ‘ ing King. My Lords, I never heard such a
 ‘ doubt proposed before in this house. I hope
 ‘ never to hear such another proposed, and of
 ‘ all mankind I am surprized how the noble
 ‘ Lord, who understands our constitution so very
 ‘ well, should start such a difficulty. For my
 ‘ part, my Lords, I never before heard it ques-
 ‘ tioned that an act of Parliament was not bind-
 ‘ ing upon every King who shall succeed to this
 ‘ throne. Therefore, my Lords, I hope the
 ‘ motion will be agreed to.’

The Lord *Talbot* spoke next to the following
 effect:

Lord *Talbot*’s
 speech.

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ I am sorry that I am obliged to give a ne-
 ‘ gative to a motion that carries with it an ap-
 ‘ pearance of zeal for the Royal Family. But,
 ‘ my Lords, the vast increase of the civil list

' is a circumstance which we ought most to
 ' dread at present, and to guard against here-
 ' after. I confess, my Lords, there may on se-
 ' veral occasions be very good reasons for aug-
 ' menting that revenue; but do we ever find,
 ' when those reasons cease, that the augmenta-
 ' tion ceases? It has been observed, my Lords,
 ' when a King comes to the crown, the mini-
 ' sters, to ingratiate themselves in his favour,
 ' endeavour to outvie each other in engaging
 ' for a large civil list, and he that bids highest,
 ' as at an auction, generally carries his point.
 ' Now, my Lords, in such case, this very bill,
 ' should it pass, would be given as one reason
 ' to Parliament for granting 50 or 60,000 *l.* be-
 ' cause it had been granted before; which is just
 ' so much money levied on the nation for the
 ' purposes of the minister, without any necessity
 ' or reason then subsisting, whatever there might
 ' be at first.

' On which account, and because I believe
 ' the Children may be provided for otherwise,
 ' I do not chuse to give my consent hastily to
 ' the present motion.'

The Earl of *Chesterfield* spoke next to the following effect:

' My Lords,
 ' My zeal for the Royal Family has, I hope, Earl of Ches-
 ' never been questioned: However, I can truly terfield's
 ' declare, it is a zeal quite disinterested; it is speech.
 ' both unexpected and undesiring. I hope
 ' therefore, my Lords, that what I shall offer
 ' with regard to this question, will not be
 ' thought to proceed from any motive but
 ' the interest of my country. My Lords, bur-
 ' dens unnecessarily born disable the nation to
 ' bear necessary ones. I look upon this bill as
 ' faddling

‘ saddling the publick with a burden, which I
 ‘ allow it is not at present charg’d with, but
 ‘ which must be hereafter entail’d on the nation.
 ‘ For if we consider the nature of mankind, the
 ‘ new King is always better than his predeces-
 ‘ sor; and it will be unreasonable to deprive so
 ‘ good a King as the next, or the next after him
 ‘ who is to succeed, of any part of what his
 ‘ predecessors enjoyed, tho’ perhaps not one of
 ‘ the reasons, for which it was granted, exist.
 ‘ But, my Lords, I am of the noble Lord’s
 ‘ opinion who spoke first against the motion,
 ‘ That this bill might possibly not be regarded
 ‘ by a succeeding King, since it is the same
 ‘ thing as mortgaging an estate without consent
 ‘ of the heir of entail, who as soon as he comes
 ‘ to age may dispute the legality of the mort-
 ‘ gage. This is all that the noble Lord, I dare
 ‘ say, meant in what he threw out on that head.
 ‘ And if a future King, my Lords, should take
 ‘ it in his head to dispute the authority of this
 ‘ bill, I should be glad to know what redress the
 ‘ other parties could hope for, or where they
 ‘ could apply for relief.

‘ But, my Lords, let us consider, that while
 ‘ we are thus providing for certain branches of
 ‘ the Royal Family, who certainly merit more
 ‘ than we can bestow, there are other branches
 ‘ of it nearer to the throne, who are not only
 ‘ unprovided for, but unprayed for; it would
 ‘ have been decent at least that some care should
 ‘ have been taken of them.

‘ As for the provision to be made for the
 ‘ Duke, I have no objection to it, but that it is
 ‘ too mean, and that he can’t enjoy it as an
 ‘ independent provision, either upon the com-
 ‘ mencement of the bill, or when his Highness
 ‘ comes of age. His Highness, my Lords, will
 ‘ in a very few years have a right to sit and vote

‘ in this house ; and is it fit that the third person
 ‘ in the nation should have only a precarious de-
 ‘ pendence, that every Lord in this house would,
 ‘ I am sure, disdain ? His Majesty, were he in
 ‘ his Highness’s place, would disdain such a de-
 ‘ pendence ; and every nation abroad must be
 ‘ apt to have a very mean opinion of the wis-
 ‘ dom of this nation, if we should suffer the
 ‘ son of our King to be the only person in this
 ‘ house, who must depend on the pleasure of a
 ‘ minister for his daily subsistence.

‘ As to the increase which the civil list in a
 ‘ future, perhaps in the present reign may ac-
 ‘ quire by this bill, I think, my Lords, it is a
 ‘ consideration of the highest importance to this
 ‘ house ; especially if what is commonly said be
 ‘ true, (I tremble to speak it) that the present
 ‘ monstrous civil list is in debt. My Lords, I
 ‘ don’t pretend to the gift of prophecy, but I
 ‘ do foresee that the fatal blow to the constitu-
 ‘ tion of this nation will come from the exorbi-
 ‘ tancy of the civil list ; I foresee that if proper
 ‘ measures are not taken to prevent it, it will
 ‘ become pregnant with secret mischief, till, like
 ‘ the *Trojan* horse, it will be so unweildy, that,
 ‘ in order to admit it, the walls of this constitu-
 ‘ tion must be one day broken down.’

The Lord Chancellor spoke next in substance
 as follows.

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ I did not imagine that there would have
 ‘ been the least debate upon this motion. It is
 ‘ so very reasonable that his Majesty should have
 ‘ it in his power to provide for his own Family,
 ‘ that if your Lordships would bring his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s case home to yourselves, I dare say
 ‘ there will not be the least difference of opi-
 ‘ nion.

Lord Chan-
 cellor’s
 speech.

' nion. I think the reasonableness of granting
 ' a provision to the Princesses, has in effect been
 ' admitted by the Lords who spoke against this
 ' motion. The only difficulty that remains, is
 ' with regard to the dependency of the provision
 ' of his Royal Highness the Duke, and to the
 ' increase which this may make to the civil list.
 ' As to the first objection, my Lords, I believe
 ' there are none of your Lordships, who are pa-
 ' rents yourselves, who would not wish to have
 ' your children dependent of you; the indepen-
 ' dency of children, my Lords, is a great temp-
 ' tation for them to neglect their natural duty to
 ' their parents. I believe his Highness the Duke
 ' has all the sentiments of a dutiful son, and
 ' for that reason, my Lords, he never will take
 ' it amiss, that during his Majesty's life-time he
 ' is dependent on him. Nor, my Lords, is it
 ' in a minister's power to make their subsistence
 ' precarious, after it is settled by an act of Par-
 ' liament.

' As to the increase that this may bring to the
 ' civil list, I cannot see the least reason for such
 ' a suggestion. Future Parliaments are always
 ' judges how large or how small a civil list
 ' ought to be; and if the publick exigency
 ' should require it, there is not the least doubt,
 ' but that the Parliament would reduce the civil
 ' list in proportion as the causes for the granting
 ' it shall cease.'

The Lord *Hervey* spoke next to the following purpose.

' My Lords,

Lord *Her-
vey's* speech.

' Since I had the honour to sit in this house,
 ' I never heard such arguments advanced upon
 ' any subject as have been advanced on this.
 ' The noble Lord who spoke first, said, that he
 ' did

‘ did not think that a King of *Great Britain* was
‘ to be bound by an act of Parliament. This,
‘ my Lords, was a maxim fitter for the turban’d
‘ heads of the eastern arbitrary Sovereigns to
‘ have used in their divan, than for an *English*
‘ Duke to have used in a free Parliament. I
‘ hope never to live, my Lords, to that time,
‘ when an act of Parliament shall not bind the
‘ King, as well as any private man in this
‘ nation; and if the Parliament shall confirm
‘ this settlement by an act, his Royal Highness
‘ and the Princesses have just as good a right to
‘ it, as any King has to his crown.

‘ The noble Lord said, that we must dispense
‘ with an act of Parliament in order to pass this
‘ bill. My Lords, that is no new thing; for
‘ that very act was dispensed with in the first
‘ year of *Queen Anne*, when a provision on the
‘ same foot with the present was made by Par-
‘ liament in favour of Prince *George of Den-*
‘ *mark*. Another noble Lord spoke of other
‘ branches of the Royal Family not being either
‘ provided or pray’d for. My Lords, that is
‘ too delicate ground to tread upon, and it is
‘ not quite decent to bring such a case into this
‘ debate.

‘ But, my Lords, give me leave to observe,
‘ that there is one thing that ought to have
‘ great weight with your Lordships on this oc-
‘ casion, and that is, the precarious footing
‘ which the subsistence any younger child of
‘ the Royal Family must be on, in case of a
‘ Regency. I hope, my Lords, his Majesty, and
‘ the Prince of *Wales* will long sit upon that
‘ throne; but, my Lotds, if (which heaven a-
‘ vert) these two lives were at an end, our laws
‘ are quite silent with regard to the right of
‘ being Regent during a minority. This, my
‘ Lords, is perhaps the greatest blemish in our
‘ con-

‘ constitution. And therefore, as it is impos-
 ‘ sible to foresee events, the Parliament will act
 ‘ but prudently in putting the subsistence of
 ‘ those, for whom we ought all to have so great
 ‘ a regard, above the reach of any person what-
 ‘ soever.’

Lord Ba-
 tburst's mo-
 tion, and
 Lord Dela-
 war's an-
 swer.

The Lord *Batburst* then said, ‘ That there
 ‘ was a standing rule in the house, that every
 ‘ bill should be committed; and therefore moved
 ‘ that the bill should be committed.’ The Lord
Delawar answered, ‘ That it was very common
 ‘ for bills to pass without being at all commit-
 ‘ ted, and that if the forms of the house were
 ‘ to be dispensed with, it ought to be on that
 ‘ occasion.’

The question being at last put for commit-
 ting the bill, it was carried in the negative, 27
 contents, to 78 not contents; whereupon the
 question was put for reading it a third time,
 which was carried, and the bill passed, without
 a division.

Sugar bill
 read a second
 time.

May 7. The bill for granting a liberty to
 carry sugars of the growth, produce, or manu-
 facture of any of his Majesty's sugar colonies in
America, from the said colonies directly to fo-
 reign parts, in ships built in *Great Britain*, and
 navigated according to law, was read a second
 time, and after hearing counsel and examining
 witnesses, for and against the bill, a motion was
 made for committing it, whereupon Mr. Alder-
 man *Perry* spoke to the following effect:

Mr. Alder-
 man *Perry's*
 speech upon
 it.

‘ Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ Sir, I am against the bill now under our
 ‘ consideration, because, I think, it will be a
 ‘ prejudice to this kingdom in general, by turn-
 ‘ ing

‘ ing our trade into a new channel, and such a
‘ channel as will, in my opinion, make it run
‘ chiefly into the hands of foreigners. We have,
‘ by long experience, found the great benefit of
‘ the several laws which, by this bill, are to be
‘ in part repealed, and that benefit we should
‘ not, I think, in any part give up, without a
‘ very evident necessity for so doing. The great
‘ number of ships and seamen that at present be-
‘ long to this island, and are daily resorting to,
‘ or departing from some of our own ports, is
‘ in a great measure owing to the acts of the
‘ 12th and 15th of King *Charles II.* which by
‘ this bill are to be in part repealed: By that of
‘ the 12th, and another of the 22d and 23d of
‘ the same King, Every ship that shall load
‘ in any of our plantations, sugars, tobacco, cot-
‘ ton-wool, indicoes, ginger, fustick, or other
‘ dying wood, (which are therefore called enu-
‘ merated goods, and to which several other sorts
‘ of goods have been since added) of the growth
‘ of any of our plantations in *America, Asia, or*
‘ *Africa*, is obliged to give bond with one secu-
‘ rity, under a very high penalty, to carry those
‘ goods to some port of *Great Britain*, or to
‘ some port in our plantations; and by that of
‘ the 15th, it is enacted, That no commodity of
‘ the growth or manufacture of *Europe*, shall be
‘ imported into any of our plantations, but what
‘ shall have been shipped in *Great Britain*, and
‘ in *British* shipping, whereof the master and
‘ three fourths of the mariners are *British* sub-
‘ jects.

‘ By these regulations, Sir, our plantations
‘ have been of much greater service to the trade
‘ and navigation of this island, than they could
‘ otherwise have been. With regard to our
‘ trade, as most of these commodities, especi-
‘ ally sugars, require some sort of manufacture
‘ before

‘ before they are fit for use, that manufacture
‘ has hitherto been carried on intirely by our
‘ people here at home, which has, and does now
‘ support many of the inhabitants of this island;
‘ and as the ships must all be victualled and re-
‘ fitted in this island, it not only consumes, or
‘ procures a vent for a great many of our native
‘ or imported materials that are necessary for
‘ that purpose, but also employs and gives bread
‘ to multitudes of useful subjects here at home:
‘ To which I must add, that as most of the
‘ imports and exports to and from our planta-
‘ tions, must pass thro’ this island, their passage
‘ employs many factors and agents here at home,
‘ and the commissions payable upon that passage
‘ bring large sums of money in to this nation
‘ yearly. Then, with regard to our navigation,
‘ as by these regulations it is made necessary for
‘ almost every ship employed in our plantation
‘ trade, to be often in some of the ports of
‘ *Great Britain*, we are thereby furnished with a
‘ large and constant supply of seamen, which
‘ adds greatly to our naval power, and contri-
‘ butes not a little to that tranquillity and secu-
‘ rity, which this nation has enjoyed ever since
‘ those regulations took place.

‘ In my opinion therefore, Sir, it would be
‘ madness in us to give up any of the advanta-
‘ ges we enjoy by means of these regulations,
‘ without an apparent necessity; and that we are,
‘ by this bill, to give up several of them with-
‘ out any apparent necessity, is what I shall now
‘ endeavour to shew. As the sugar trade is the
‘ only branch now in question, I shall confine
‘ myself to that trade only; but I must, by the
‘ way, observe, that we have already given leave
‘ to export rice from *Carolina* and *Georgia*, di-
‘ rectly to foreign parts; we are now desired to
‘ give the same liberty with respect to sugars,
‘ and

‘ and as the same reasons which are now made
‘ use of in favour of sugar, may hereafter, I
‘ think, with equal weight be made use of in
‘ favour of every one of the enumerated com-
‘ modities of our plantations, I make no ques-
‘ tion but that upon the precedent we are now
‘ to make, and the precedent we have already
‘ made, a free trade will in a few years be open-
‘ ed between our plantations and every country
‘ in *Europe*; which will of course render them
‘ more beneficial to foreigners than to their mo-
‘ ther country. But that this danger may ap-
‘ pear in its proper light, I shall just mention
‘ the several advantages we must lose by allow-
‘ ing sugars to be exported to foreign countries
‘ directly from our plantations. As the law now
‘ stands, their sugars must be all landed in *Great*
‘ *Britain*, and as soon as they are landed, the
‘ ship is generally put into some of our docks to
‘ refit, the seamen are paid their wages and dis-
‘ charged, and the freight is divided among the
‘ owners, who are generally subjects residing here
‘ in *Great Britain*. By this means our people
‘ here at home have the advantage of refitting
‘ the ship, and of furnishing the seamen with
‘ every thing they stand in need of upon their
‘ landing; so that not only the freight, but also
‘ the seamen’s wages are wholly laid out in this
‘ kingdom. Then, upon the ship’s clearing out
‘ for a new voyage, a fresh advantage accrues to
‘ our people here at home, from furnishing the
‘ ship and seamen with every thing they want
‘ upon their out-set; and every ship carries out
‘ large quantities of our own produce and manu-
‘ facture, and such other commodities as are pro-
‘ per for the plantation market.

‘ These are advantages, Sir, that arise from
‘ the sugar’s being unloaded in *Great Britain*;
‘ and then, if it is to be re-loaded for exporta-
‘ tion,

‘ tion, our people have an advantage by having
‘ a double commission, and by the rent for ware-
‘ house room while it is here; and they have
‘ another advantage, by furnishing the ship and
‘ seamen employed in the exportation, with eve-
‘ ry thing they stand in need of upon their out-
‘ set. But the great advantage we reap by our
‘ sugar’s passing thro’ this island to foreign parts,
‘ is that of its being manufactured and refined
‘ by our people here at home, and thereby made
‘ to sell for a much higher price at every foreign
‘ market: It is chiefly owing to this, that the
‘ sugar-baking trade has been for so many years
‘ a thriving trade in this nation, a trade by
‘ which some gentlemen have got large fortunes,
‘ and many of our poor a comfortable subsif-
‘ tence.

‘ But, Sir, if we allow sugars to be exported
‘ from our plantations to foreign parts, we shall
‘ in a great measure lose every one of these ad-
‘ vantages. They are beginning already to set
‘ up sugar-baking at *Hamburg*, and several o-
‘ ther parts of *Europe*, where the necessaries of
‘ life, and consequently labour, is much cheaper
‘ than it is here; so that if we allow our sugars
‘ to go to them directly, we may in a short time
‘ be intirely cut out of the sugar-baking trade;
‘ and tho’ the ships that carry these sugars be,
‘ by this bill, obliged to come to *Great Britain*
‘ before they return to the *West-Indies*, yet,
‘ as refitting in most foreign ports is cheaper
‘ than it is here, they will certainly refit at those
‘ ports, and the seamen will lay out at least the
‘ moiety of their wages, which by this bill is
‘ allowed to be paid them, at the foreign port
‘ where the ship is unloaded. By this means, a
‘ great part of the freight will be laid out a-
‘ mong foreigners; and in a little time, I be-
‘ lieve, no part, or a very small share of it,
‘ will

‘ will ever come to *Great Britain*; because I
‘ make no question, but that in a few years our
‘ planters, and other subjects in our plantations,
‘ will have ships of their own for carrying their
‘ sugars to a foreign market; and of these ships
‘ foreigners may perhaps be the chief owners;
‘ for this may be done in a clandestine manner,
‘ and by borrowed names, without the master’s
‘ knowing any thing of it; and if the nature of
‘ the trade make it necessary or profitable, I do
‘ not doubt, but it will be done, notwithstanding
‘ all the precautions that can be taken a-
‘ gainst it.

‘ But the greatest disadvantage and danger at-
‘ tending this bill is, that it will, in my opinion,
‘ very much increase the consumption of foreign
‘ manufactures in our sugar plantations. I could
‘ mention several particulars, Sir, but to give
‘ you as little trouble as possible, I shall confine
‘ myself to the article of linens only. Every
‘ one knows, that besides foreign linens, there
‘ are now great quantities both of *Scotish* and *I-*
‘ *rish* linens consumed in our plantations: But if
‘ by this bill we render it more convenient or
‘ cheaper for them to have foreign linens, than
‘ it was heretofore, it must necessarily diminish
‘ the consumption of *Scotish* and *Irish* linens, and
‘ increase that of foreign. Now, that by this
‘ bill, if it passes into a law, our plantations
‘ may have foreign linens more conveniently and
‘ cheaper than heretofore, is, I think, manifest;
‘ for as the law stands at present, no foreign li-
‘ nens can be sent to our plantations without
‘ paying at least two commissions, one to the
‘ foreign or *London* factor upon importation, and
‘ one to the *West-India* factor upon exportation;
‘ and besides, they must generally pay warehouse
‘ rent here in *Britain* for several months, before
‘ they can be sent to the *West-Indies*; all which

‘ charges these linens will be free from, if this
 ‘ bill should pass into a law; because the master
 ‘ of the ship, by order of the planters, may, as
 ‘ soon as he has unloaded his sugars at the fo-
 ‘ reign port, take in a cargo of linens, and by
 ‘ landing them at any port in *Britain*, and pay-
 ‘ ing the duties, he may re-load them immedi-
 ‘ ately, receive the draw-back, and proceed with
 ‘ them directly to the *West-Indies*: And these
 ‘ charges they are now subject to, besides the o-
 ‘ ther charges I have mentioned; so that foreign
 ‘ linens must necessarily come cheaper to the
 ‘ planter in the *West-Indies*, after this bill is pass-
 ‘ ed into a law, than they could do before, and
 ‘ consequently it will increase the consumption
 ‘ of foreign, and diminish that of our home ma-
 ‘ nufacture of linen. To which I must add,
 ‘ that the master and mariners of every such ship
 ‘ will certainly furnish themselves with linen and
 ‘ all other wearing apparel, which, by reason of
 ‘ our high duties, they may have at most foreign
 ‘ ports cheaper than they can have in *Great Bri-
 ‘ tain*.

‘ Another danger is, Sir, that I am afraid this
 ‘ bill will turn the course of our *African* trade
 ‘ quite away from *Great Britain*; for as that
 ‘ trade is chiefly supported by the slaves we pur-
 ‘ chase for the *West-Indies*, as the poor people in
 ‘ that country have, for the most part, nothing
 ‘ else to give us in return for the produce and
 ‘ manufactures of this kingdom, which we carry
 ‘ to them, I am afraid that most of our *West-In-
 ‘ dia* ships bound to *Holland* or *Hamburg* with
 ‘ sugars, will there take in a loading for *Africa*,
 ‘ and after making a proper entry at some of
 ‘ our out-ports, and re-loading directly, proceed
 ‘ to *Africa*, and there purchase a cargo of slaves
 ‘ for our plantations; by which means, the peo-
 ‘ ple of this island would lose the whole benefit

‘ of the outward cargo to *Africa*, and would
‘ have little or no benefit by the sugars which
‘ purchased that cargo, or by the cargo of slaves
‘ from *Africa* to the *West-Indies*. And the last
‘ disadvantage I shall take notice of is, that this
‘ bill may, probably, make us lose the benefit of
‘ insurance upon most of the ships bound from
‘ our plantations with sugars to foreign ports;
‘ for as they must settle a correspondence at
‘ those foreign ports, and will stay but a very
‘ short time at any port in *Great Britain*, they
‘ will, probably, insure the ship and cargo at
‘ that port, where they have settled their chief
‘ correspondence; which must diminish the bu-
‘ siness of our *British* insurers, and will be a loss
‘ to the nation in general.

‘ From what I have said, Sir, I hope it will
‘ appear, that the disadvantages and dangers of
‘ passing this bill into a law are manifest, and I
‘ cannot think there is the least necessity for our
‘ running such a risk. I shall readily grant,
‘ that our sugar colonies deserve all the encou-
‘ ragement we can give them, consistently with
‘ the trade and happiness of their mother coun-
‘ try; and I shall likewise grant, that they stand
‘ in need of being relieved from some of those
‘ pressures they at present labour under: But the
‘ decay of our sugar trade, and the difficulties
‘ our sugar planters labour under, do not pro-
‘ ceed from the necessity of landing all their su-
‘ gars in *Great Britain*, before they can be ex-
‘ ported to a foreign market; they proceed from
‘ the oppressions of our governors, the taxes
‘ which planters are obliged to pay upon slaves,
‘ and many other things necessary for their su-
‘ gar plantations, and particularly, from that
‘ monstrous tax of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. which is pay-
‘ able upon all sugars exported from most of our
‘ sugar islands. This last is really a most mon-

' strous grievance. After so visible a decay of
 ' our sugar trade, and so many complaints upon
 ' that head, the continuance of this tax is sur-
 ' prizing, and it is the more surprizing, confi-
 ' dering the small revenue from thence arising to
 ' the publick: The annual amount of this reve-
 ' nue does not exceed 7000 *l.* There is, I be-
 ' lieve, a larger sum accounted for, and a much
 ' larger raised upon the planters; but even that
 ' raised upon the planters is not, I think, com-
 ' puted to amount to much above 27,000 *l.*
 ' yearly; and 20,000 *l.* of this, it seems, either
 ' sticks to the fingers of those whose hands it
 ' comes thro', or is expended in pensions and
 ' salaries, which are either quite useless to the
 ' colony, or such as might be much better sup-
 ' plied in another way.

' We have been of late, Sir, extremely ge-
 ' nerous, we have this year granted 5000 *l.*
 ' publick money, for a remedy we know no-
 ' thing of; we have for several years granted
 ' 10,000 *l.* a year to our *African* company,
 ' for supporting our trade to *Africa*; we have
 ' for some years granted 20,000 *l.* to *Georgia*,
 ' for supporting I do not know what trade;
 ' nay, even this year, we have given them
 ' 20,000 *l.* tho' by the late convention, ratified
 ' by his Majesty, and approved by both houses
 ' of Parliament, a full stop has been put, not
 ' only to their fortifications, but even to their
 ' extending their plantations. To me it is ama-
 ' zing, that with all this generosity we cannot
 ' think of giving up a tax which brings in but
 ' 7000 *l.* a year to the publick revenue, for the
 ' sake of recovering and preserving the sugar
 ' trade, which has saved or brought in so many
 ' millions to this kingdom. This is a profusion
 ' and a parsimony, which I cannot comprehend
 ' the reason of; it looks as if we had a greater
 ' regard

‘ regard to the trade of pensions and perquisites,
‘ than to any other trade in the kingdom; but
‘ those who deal in that trade should consider,
‘ that if we lose all other trade, the trade they
‘ deal in will soon come to decay.

‘ As all our complaints in the sugar trade,
‘ Sir, are founded upon the heavy charges our
‘ sugars come loaded with to market; and as
‘ this is the heaviest and the most useless and
‘ unnecessary charge laid upon them, it should
‘ in the first place be removed. Then, if to
‘ this we should add some new regulations for
‘ laying our *West-India* governors under such re-
‘ strictions as the *French* governors are laid un-
‘ der: If we should prevent its being in the
‘ power of any of our governors to ask or ac-
‘ cept of any presents from those subjected to
‘ their government, it would remove another
‘ most heavy charge, which all our sugars come
‘ loaded with to market; because it would pre-
‘ vent our planters being under a temptation to
‘ lay taxes upon those materials that are neces-
‘ sary for producing and manufacturing their su-
‘ gars, in order to raise money for satisfying the
‘ avarice, or supplying the luxury of their go-
‘ vernors, whose favour they must, and always
‘ will contentiously endeavour to gain.

‘ I could mention several other expedients,
‘ Sir, for recovering and even improving our su-
‘ gar trade, which might be accomplished with
‘ great ease, and without any danger; but the
‘ two I have mentioned would alone be suffi-
‘ cient for giving our sugars an advantage at
‘ every market in *Europe*, and therefore, there
‘ can be no necessity for our trying such a dan-
‘ gerous experiment, as that intended by the
‘ bill now before us; for which reason, I must
‘ be against its being passed into a law.’

The next speech was made in favour of the bill, by Sir *John Barnard*, and was in substance thus ;

Sir *John
Barnard's
speech.*

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, I am sorry to differ from my honour-
‘ able friend, who has given you his sentiments
‘ upon the bill now before us, and the more so,
‘ because it is what seldom happens. I have
‘ generally the good fortune to find him of the
‘ same opinion with me, in most things that
‘ come to be disputed in this house ; and even
‘ upon the present occasion, I shall most readily
‘ join with him in the latter part of his dis-
‘ course. I am as much surprized as he can be,
‘ that the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty has not been long
‘ ago taken off : I am likewise surprized, that
‘ care has not been long since taken, to restrain
‘ our governors from oppressing and skinning
‘ the plantations committed to their care, or
‘ tempting our planters to oppress and ruin
‘ themselves, in order to gain their favour. If
‘ those whose business it is, had our trade as
‘ much at heart, as they ought, both these
‘ things would have been done long before
‘ now ; and in that case, I am persuaded, we
‘ should not now have been complaining of the
‘ loss of our sugar trade. But, as neither my
‘ honourable friend, nor I, can hope for being
‘ able to make either of these propositions ef-
‘ fectual, I cannot allow myself to be diverted,
‘ by hopes I at present think chimerical, from
‘ pursuing the proposition now before us ; be-
‘ cause I think it will be of some service, and
‘ can be attended with no danger.

‘ The navigation act, Sir, and the other laws
‘ mentioned in the preamble of this bill, have
‘ certainly been of great benefit to this nation.

‘ They

‘ They were certainly right, at the time they
‘ were enacted; and if circumstances were now
‘ the same, I should be against altering them in
‘ any part; but that may be prudence in one
‘ age, which in another would be the height of
‘ madness. When those laws were passed, we
‘ had a monopoly of the sugar trade: No na-
‘ tion in *Europe* could then have any large quan-
‘ tity of sugars, but what they had from us;
‘ and if the case were now the same, I should
‘ be for loading them with as many charges as
‘ gentlemen could reasonably contrive: I should
‘ be for enabling our own people to make as
‘ great an advantage of them, as they could
‘ wish for. But the case is now very different:
‘ We have now a rival, and a dangerous rival in
‘ the sugar trade; and if we do not allow fo-
‘ reigners to have our sugars, at least as cheap
‘ as they can have the same sort of commodity
‘ from our rival, they will have none of ours:
‘ They will take every shilling’s worth they
‘ have occasion for, from our rival in the sugar
‘ trade.

‘ This, Sir, is the case at present. Since the
‘ treaty of *Utrecht* the *French* have with great
‘ industry enlarged their sugar plantations in the
‘ *West-Indies*; and by prudent and seasonable
‘ regulations they have greatly improved that
‘ trade. If we had been as wise and vigilant,
‘ as we ought to have been, we might have pre-
‘ vented that improvement: We might have
‘ ruined the *French* sugar trade in its infancy, by
‘ taking off all those unnecessary charges that
‘ enhanced the price of our sugars at the foreign
‘ market; but either thro’ ignorance or neglect,
‘ or perhaps from worse motives, we persisted in
‘ those regulations, which were well enough, as
‘ long as we had no rival, tho’ they became ruin-
‘ ous, as soon as we began to have one. By this we
‘ have

‘ have established the *French* sugar trade, and
 ‘ quite ruined our own, so far as relates to the
 ‘ foreign market; for we now export but very
 ‘ little sugar, either refined or unrefined, to any
 ‘ market in *Europe*; and if the trade remains in
 ‘ its present circumstances but a very few years,
 ‘ we shall export none at all: Nay, I do not
 ‘ know, but that we may soon stand in need of
 ‘ as severe laws for preventing the running of
 ‘ *French* sugars, as we now have for preventing
 ‘ the running of *French* brandies.

‘ The dispute therefore, Sir, is not, upon this
 ‘ occasion, between our planters in the *West-Indies*
 ‘ and our people here at home: The ques-
 ‘ tion is, Whether we shall encourage and en-
 ‘ tirely establish the *French* sugar trade, by giv-
 ‘ ing up to them all foreign markets for sugar?
 ‘ If we export no sugars, neither the nation,
 ‘ nor our planters in the *West-Indies*, nor our
 ‘ people here at home, can reap any advantage
 ‘ by a foreign exportation. Therefore, the loss
 ‘ our people here at home may sustain by allow-
 ‘ ing a direct exportation from our plantations,
 ‘ is quite out of the present question; for if
 ‘ there can be no exportation of sugars from
 ‘ *Great Britain*, our people here at home can
 ‘ suffer no loss, by our encouraging an exporta-
 ‘ tion from another part of our dominions.
 ‘ The only question now in dispute is, Whether
 ‘ we shall encourage the exportation of sugars
 ‘ from *France*, or from our own sugar colonies?
 ‘ In this light, I am sure, no gentleman that
 ‘ hears me will make it a question; because,
 ‘ by encouraging an exportation from *France*,
 ‘ we add to the riches and strength of our most
 ‘ dangerous rival in power as well as trade;
 ‘ and by encouraging an exportation from our
 ‘ own colonies, we diminish the riches and
 ‘ strength of our rival, and we add to the
 ‘ riches

‘ riches and strength of this nation, without
‘ doing the least damage to our people here at
‘ home.

‘ For this reason, Sir, gentlemen should care-
‘ fully consider, upon this occasion, whether or
‘ no it be possible for us, in our present circum-
‘ stances, to export any sugars to a foreign mar-
‘ ket; for if it be not, every objection that has
‘ been made against this bill, falls to the ground.
‘ And then we ought to consider, whether the
‘ regulation now proposed, may not some way
‘ contribute towards rendering it possible for us
‘ to export sugars to a foreign market; for if it
‘ can in the least contribute towards that end,
‘ we ought to agree to it. From these two con-
‘ siderations, we ought to determine ourselves in
‘ the case now before us, and both are, I think,
‘ evidently in favour of this bill. The accounts
‘ upon our table, shew what large quantities we
‘ used to export before the *French* began to rival
‘ us in that trade, how gradually our exporta-
‘ tion has decreased as they have improved, and
‘ what an inconsiderable trifle it is now reduced
‘ to. Nay, the very nature of the trade must
‘ shew, that unless we allow of a direct expor-
‘ tation from our sugar colonies, the *French* will
‘ always be able to undersel us at, and conse-
‘ quently exclude us from every foreign market
‘ in *Europe*. While they allow of a direct ex-
‘ portation, and we do not, the case is plain,
‘ because the charge of a double freight, double
‘ commission, warehouse room, re-loading, and
‘ several petty expences, will always be a charge
‘ upon our sugars at every foreign market,
‘ which their sugars are free from. But sup-
‘ pose they should not allow of a direct expor-
‘ tation no more than we, with regard to an ex-
‘ portation to the *Baltick*, *Hamburg* or *Holland*,
‘ their ports in the channel, especially *Dunkirk*,
‘ which

‘ which we have allowed them to make a port
‘ of, contrary to exprefs stipulation in the treaty
‘ of *Utrecht*, lie more convenient than either
‘ the ports of *London* or *Bristol*, which are the
‘ two where our chief importations are made;
‘ and with regard to an exportation to *Flanders*,
‘ and to the southward of cape *Finisterre*, their
‘ ports lie more convenient than ours, which
‘ will always give them an advantage over us at
‘ all foreign markets, unless we allow of a direct
‘ exportation from our sugar colonies.

‘ From hence it is plain, Sir, that unless we
‘ allow of a direct exportation, it will always be
‘ impossible for us to export any sugars to a fo-
‘ reign market; and that the regulation now
‘ proposed, will contribute towards rendering it
‘ possible for us to export our sugars to a foreign
‘ market, we may be convinced of from experi-
‘ ence; for tho’ the *French* have for many years
‘ allowed of a direct exportation from their co-
‘ lonies, and tho’ we have, during that whole
‘ time, most ridiculously persisted in our resolu-
‘ tion not to allow of any such exportation from
‘ ours, which loaded our sugars sent to foreign
‘ markets, with a charge of 8 or 10 *per Cent.* at
‘ an average, the *French* sugars were free from,
‘ yet we continued till very lately to export large
‘ quantities; which shews, that if we had been
‘ upon an equal footing with the *French*, we
‘ should have underfold them; and that if we
‘ were now put upon that footing, notwithstand-
‘ ing their great improvement in the sugar trade,
‘ we should at least rival them, if not beat them
‘ out of every market in *Europe*.

‘ But, Sir, there is nothing more clearly shews
‘ the advantage of the regulation proposed, than
‘ the precedent my honourable friend was plea-
‘ sed to mention with regard to rice. It is not
‘ many years since we had not a pound of rice
‘ produced

‘ produced in any of our dominions, and were
‘ therefore obliged to have all our rice from fo-
‘ reigners. By chance our planters in *Carolina*
‘ began to produce that useful commodity, and
‘ soon supplied us here at home with all we
‘ wanted, and at a much cheaper rate than we
‘ used to have it. As soon as they began to do
‘ us this favour, by way of a grateful return, we
‘ restrained them in their rice trade, by making
‘ it an enumerated commodity, in pursuance of
‘ that wise maxim, of confining the trade of our
‘ colonies to their mother country, whether the
‘ nature of the trade will admit of it or no.
‘ Whilst rice continued under this restraint, we
‘ sent but little to any foreign market; but
‘ at last we grew wise enough to allow them to
‘ export rice from *Carolina*, directly to any part
‘ of *Europe* southward of cape *Finisterre*; and
‘ since that time we have yearly sent large quan-
‘ tities of rice to foreign markets: This is a full
‘ proof, that a direct exportation from our colo-
‘ nies will always enable us to sell any commo-
‘ dity at a foreign market much cheaper than it
‘ can be sold, when it must be first landed in
‘ *Great Britain*; and as we now find by experi-
‘ ence, that we can sell no sugar at any foreign
‘ market, as long as it must be first landed in
‘ *Great Britain*, we ought at least to try that ex-
‘ pedient, which we have found to answer so
‘ well with regard to rice. We have found no
‘ inconvenience or disadvantage from allowing
‘ the direct exportation of rice, and if we can
‘ otherwise export no sugars, which is really the
‘ case, I am sure we shall find as little inconve-
‘ nience or disadvantage from allowing a direct
‘ exportation of sugars; but to make this the
‘ more evident, I shall particularly consider the
‘ objections that have been made to it.

‘ As

‘ As for its being a dangerous precedent with
‘ regard to our other enumerated commodities,
‘ there can be no weight in the objection; for
‘ this can be no precedent, unless our trade in
‘ some of our other enumerated commodities
‘ should be in danger of falling under the same
‘ circumstances that our sugar trade is in at pre-
‘ sent; and whenever this happens to be the
‘ case, we ought to allow a direct exportation of
‘ that commodity, even tho’ there were no pre-
‘ cedent in its favour. If the *French*, Sir,
‘ should become our rivals in the tobacco trade,
‘ and if they continue their improvements upon
‘ the river *Mississippi*, they may, I should be for
‘ allowing our tobacco planters a direct exporta-
‘ tion, rather than allow the *French* to supply all
‘ the foreign markets in *Europe* with tobacco;
‘ and I am sure, every man who sedately confi-
‘ dered the interest of his country, or even his
‘ own, would be of my opinion; for if a to-
‘ bacco factor saw the value of his commissions
‘ for exportation dwindling away daily, by rea-
‘ son of the foreign markets being supplied by
‘ the *French* with tobacco, he must foresee, that
‘ he would soon intirely lose the benefit of
‘ the commission, and his country the benefit of
‘ the production and sale; therefore, he would
‘ willingly resign a private benefit, which he
‘ foresaw would soon dwindle to nothing, in or-
‘ der to secure to his country the benefit of the
‘ production and sale. This precedent, there-
‘ fore, can never be of any dangerous conse-
‘ quence, but may be of advantage, by putting
‘ us into a method of preventing our trade in
‘ any other enumerated commodity from fall-
‘ ing under the misfortune our sugar trade has
‘ now fallen into; for when a branch of trade is
‘ once lost, it is not so easily regain’d.

‘ I shall allow, Sir, that our people here at
‘ home have an advantage by commission, and
‘ by several other articles, when sugars are ex-
‘ ported; but when none are, they can have no
‘ such advantages. They have already lost those
‘ advantages, and therefore cannot be said to be
‘ in danger of losing them by this bill: But
‘ their private loss is not the only one; the na-
‘ tion, by endeavouring to preserve the advan-
‘ tage they had by commission, has lost the ad-
‘ vantage of the production and sale. The ad-
‘ vantage they had by commission, is what we
‘ cannot recover; the national advantage in the
‘ production and sale we may recover, and I
‘ have shewn, that the regulation proposed by
‘ this bill, is the proper way of doing it. With
‘ regard to refining the case is the same, our
‘ people can have no advantage by refining for
‘ exportation, unless we do export; and if fo-
‘ reigners can underwork us in the refining
‘ trade, may not they do it in *French* sugars, as
‘ well as those of our own growth? We had
‘ better, therefore, furnish them with sugars un-
‘ refined, than with none at all. Our sugar-ba-
‘ kers could no way suffer by it, because they
‘ now refine little or nothing for exportation:
‘ Nay, if foreigners should refine all we sent
‘ them, our sugar-bakers could no way suffer;
‘ for as none of those sugars could be re-im-
‘ ported, our sugar-bakers would retain the re-
‘ fining trade for home consumption, which is
‘ the only trade they now enjoy. But the great
‘ decay in our exportation of refined sugars, is
‘ not so much owing to our people’s being out-
‘ done or underwork’d in the refining of sugars
‘ by foreigners, as to the high duties paid upon
‘ importation, which the refiner must advance
‘ and lie out of, till he has made his sugars fit
‘ for being exported. This is the cause, that
‘ none

‘ none but rich men can engage in the trade ;
‘ and when a trade is confined to a few hands,
‘ or to the rich only, tho’ the labourers may
‘ have but small wages, the masters will not be
‘ satisfied with such small profits, as they would
‘ be, if there were a great number of men of
‘ moderate fortunes engaged in the trade.

‘ I am, indeed, surprized, Sir, to hear it so
‘ much as imagined, that our ships employed in
‘ the direct exportation of sugars would refit at
‘ foreign ports, or that planters or foreigners
‘ would become the chief owners of such ships.
‘ As the seamen must all be continued in pay,
‘ till the ship returns to *Britain*, the master
‘ would certainly put off refitting, till he re-
‘ turned hither, because he could here immedi-
‘ ately discharge his seamen, and thereby save
‘ all their wages during the time his ship was re-
‘ fitting, whereby he would save more than the
‘ difference, if there be any, between refitting
‘ at this port, and refitting at any other port in
‘ *Europe* ; and as the major part of his owners
‘ must, by this bill, be such as are residing in
‘ *Great Britain*, they would generally chuse to
‘ have a concern in refitting their ship, and
‘ would therefore oblige him to return hither be-
‘ fore he refitted. But suppose these ships were
‘ all to be refitted in foreign ports, suppose the
‘ seamen should spend all their wages there, and
‘ suppose the ships were all to belong to planters
‘ and foreigners, our people here at home could
‘ lose none of the advantages they now enjoy,
‘ because we now export no sugars, and conse-
‘ quently can have no ships or seamen employed
‘ in that trade. We can now have no ships em-
‘ ployed in the sugar trade, but such as are em-
‘ ployed in bringing hither our sugars for home
‘ consumption ; therefore, for example’s sake, I
‘ shall suppose, we have now twenty ships em-
‘ ployed

‘ ployed in the fugar trade, and that by regain-
‘ ing a fale for our fugars at foreign markets,
‘ ten other fhips fhould be employed in the di-
‘ rect exportation; our people here at home
‘ would ftill have all the advantages they now
‘ have by the twenty fhips, and, allowing every
‘ thing that can be fupposed, they would get
‘ fome advantages, which they do not now en-
‘ joy, by the other ten fhips being obliged to
‘ repair to fome port in *Britain* before their re-
‘ turn to the plantations. Therefore, if by al-
‘ lowing a direct exportation we fhould recover
‘ our foreign fugar trade, our people here at
‘ home would certainly reap fome benefit they
‘ do not now enjoy, and the nation would reap
‘ a great deal.

‘ With regard, Sir, to what has been faid a-
‘ bout foreign linens, I do not think, that our
‘ allowing a direct exportation of fugars would
‘ make the leaft alteration in the price of that
‘ commodity to the planter; for if he employ’d
‘ the mafter of a fhip, as his fupercargo, to pur-
‘ chafe linens for him, he muft allow the mafter
‘ commiffion for what he does as fupercargo,
‘ and the mafter muft go to a factor at *Ham-*
‘ *burgh* for purchafing fuch linens, as well as a
‘ *West-India* factor muft go to a *Hamburgh* factor
‘ at *London*. In both cafes the planter muft pay
‘ double commiffion, the freight and infurance
‘ is the fame, and as the linens muft be landed
‘ in *Great Britain*, and muft be put into a ware-
‘ house, whilft the fhip is refitting, I believe the
‘ planter would find the linens come dearer, than
‘ if he had commiffioned them from *London*, or
‘ any other port in *Great Britain*. I fhall, in-
‘ deed, allow, that the mafter and feamen might
‘ perhaps furnifh themfelves with a few fhirts,
‘ or the like; but muft we never allow any of
‘ our fhips to put into a foreign port, for fear

‘ our seamen should lay out a little of their money at that port? Or shall we grudge their laying out a moiety of their wages among those foreigners, who pay them the whole of their wages? For those that purchase the cargo, are the persons that pay the freight, and consequently pay both the master and seamen their whole wages.

‘ Now, Sir, with regard to the *African* trade, if a cargo for *Africa* can be got better or cheaper in *Holland*, or at *Hamburg*, than in *Great Britain*, I shall allow, that people will always purchase that cargo, as well as every other cargo, where they find they can have it best and cheapest; but, I am sure, it is more probable, that a ship designed from *London* for *Africa*, will sail to *Holland* or *Hamburg*, there take in her cargo for *Africa*, and proceed with it directly to *Africa*, than that a ship will take in a cargo in *Holland* or at *Hamburg*, which she is obliged to land in *Great Britain*, and reload again, before she can proceed to *Africa*. Therefore, if any thing can serve to secure to us the whole benefit of our *African* trade, it will be this, of allowing a direct exportation of our sugars; for as many of those ships may return by the way of *Africa* to our plantations, and as it will be extremely inconvenient for them to take in any part of their cargo for *Africa*, at the port where they unload their sugars, they must all resolve to purchase the whole in *Great Britain*, even tho’ they should pay a little dearer for it, than they could have it at the port where they unload.

‘ The only other objection I can think of, Sir, is that relating to the insurance, upon which I must observe, that sugar is a very dangerous commodity to insure, and custom has, I think, settled the price at a rate not equal to the

‘ the risk ; so that, if we should lose the insu-
‘ rance upon our sugars designed for a foreign
‘ market, it would be no great loss with respect
‘ to our future gains, and with respect to our
‘ present, it could be no loss at all, because we
‘ export none, and consequently can get nothing
‘ by insuring sugars for a foreign market ; for
‘ this is the mistake that runs thro’ the whole of
‘ the argument against this bill : It is supposed,
‘ that we now make great advantages by the ex-
‘ portation of sugars, and that we are to lose
‘ some of those advantages by admitting a di-
‘ rect exportation ; which is a supposition that
‘ appears to be false, by the accounts upon our
‘ table. But even as to our future gains, if we
‘ do recover an exportation of sugars by means
‘ of this bill, I believe they will be all insured
‘ in *Great Britain* ; for as every planter must
‘ have a correspondent in *Britain*, and as our
‘ planters will always put a greater confidence in
‘ *British* insurers than in foreign, I think it high-
‘ ly probable, that every one of them will order
‘ all the sugars he sends to *Britain*, or even di-
‘ rectly to foreign parts, to be insured at some
‘ of our own offices ; so that with respect to
‘ insurance we shall, probably, rather increase
‘ than diminish that trade by the bill now before
‘ us.

‘ Having now, I think, Sir, answered all the
‘ objections, that have been made to this bill, I
‘ shall take notice of one advantage we must
‘ reap, if we can, by means of this regulation,
‘ recover the exportation of sugars to *Holland*,
‘ *Hamburgh*, or the *Baltick*. As our ships that
‘ carry sugars directly to either of these places,
‘ must return to *Great Britain*, and must return
‘ in ballast, if they cannot find a cargo where
‘ they are, they will accept of any freight, ra-
‘ ther than go without ; which will of course

‘ bring the rate of freight from these places to
 ‘ *London* so low, that none but they, besides the
 ‘ usual regular sloops, will ever be employed;
 ‘ so that we shall recover the advantage of freight
 ‘ from those countries, which is an advantage we
 ‘ have in a great measure lost, because most of
 ‘ the goods we take from them, are now sent to
 ‘ us in their own bottoms.

‘ Upon all which, Sir, I must conclude with
 ‘ saying, that I can see no inconvenience we can
 ‘ be exposed to, by having this bill passed into
 ‘ a law. The only danger I apprehend is, that
 ‘ it will not answer the end proposed, especially,
 ‘ considering the many restrictions this direct ex-
 ‘ portation is to be loaded with. But if this
 ‘ does not do, we must, I hope we shall, have
 ‘ recourse to what my honourable friend has
 ‘ proposed, and to every thing that can be pro-
 ‘ posed, with the least appearance of success;
 ‘ for the sugar trade, is a trade of vast conse-
 ‘ quence to this nation, and it is of the more
 ‘ consequence, because it is like to go to a na-
 ‘ tion, of which we ought to be more jealous,
 ‘ than of any other in *Europe*. Let us not there-
 ‘ fore, from little local views, from views of
 ‘ preferring one part of our own people to an-
 ‘ other, refuse any thing that may contribute to-
 ‘ wards enabling our planters, either to produce
 ‘ their sugars, or to send them to a foreign mar-
 ‘ ket, with a less charge, than they can do at
 ‘ present. I shall always have a due regard for
 ‘ our mother country; I shall always be for giv-
 ‘ ing this island the preference in every branch
 ‘ of trade, as long as that preference does not
 ‘ expose us to the danger of being supplanted
 ‘ by foreigners; but wherever I see an apparent
 ‘ danger of this kind, I shall be for preferring
 ‘ our own people to foreigners; and therefore
 ‘ shall be for taking off every restraint, that was
 ‘ con-

‘ contrived by the wisdom of our ancestors for
 ‘ giving an advantage, or a monopoly of that
 ‘ trade, to the people of this island. It is this
 ‘ that makes me for the bill now under our con-
 ‘ sideration, and this ought to make every gen-
 ‘ tleman for it, that has a greater regard for the
 ‘ trade of *Britain*, than he has for the trade of
 ‘ *France*. Whether we shall endeavour to re-
 ‘ cover the former, or establish the latter, is the
 ‘ only proper question now before us; but I am
 ‘ convinced my honourable friend did not view
 ‘ it in this light: If he had, I am absolutely
 ‘ certain, he would have said nothing against it.’

The question was carried in the affirmative,
 and the bill afterwards passed into a law.

May 10. The following message was sent by
 his Majesty to both houses, viz.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty being truly solicitous for the
 peace and welfare of these kingdoms, and
 desirous to contribute, as far as in him lies, to-
 wards preserving the publick tranquillity, and
 the balance of power in *Europe*, has concluded
 with the King of *Denmark* a treaty, agreeable to
 that which expired in 1737, and has ordered the
 same to be laid before this house; that he may
 have their support and concurrence, in making
 good the engagements which he has thereby en-
 tered into.

His Maje-
 sty's message
 for a vote of
 credit.

And as events may happen, during such time,
 as it may be impossible for his Majesty to have
 the immediate advice and assistance of his great
 council, upon any emergency, arising from the
 present posture of affairs in *Europe*, which may
 nearly concern the honour, interest, and safety
 of these kingdoms; he hopes he shall be sup-

ported by his Parliament, in making such further augmentation of his forces, either by sea or land, as may become absolutely necessary; and in concerting such measures, as the exigency of affairs may require: And whatever augmentations shall be made, or services performed, an account thereof shall be laid before the Parliament at the next session.

The Duke of *Newcastle*, who brought this message to the house of Lords, as soon as the house had resolved itself into a committee of the whole house to take the message into their consideration, stood up, and spoke in substance as follows, *viz.*

‘ My Lords,

Duke of
Newcastle’s
speech and
motion.

‘ As his Majesty’s most gracious message to
‘ this house consists of two parts, one of which
‘ relates to the treaty lately concluded with the
‘ King of *Denmark*, which he has been so good
‘ as to order to lay before us, and the other to
‘ the augmentation of his forces, and the other
‘ measures that may, in this critical juncture,
‘ become necessary; I shall beg leave to consi-
‘ der them distinctly, and in order, as they stand
‘ in the message. As to the treaty with *Den-*
‘ *mark*, I believe, the expediency, and even the
‘ necessity of concluding such a treaty, upon the
‘ present occasion, will be acknowledged by
‘ every Lord that considers the remarkable turn
‘ of affairs, which has lately happened in *Swe-*
‘ *den*, and the precarious state the tranquillity of
‘ this nation now stands in. It is a misfortune
‘ attending a free government in every country,
‘ to have their people divided into factions or
‘ parties; and this misfortune *Sweden* of course
‘ relapsed into, as soon as they had recovered
‘ and established their liberties, upon the de-
‘ mise

‘ mise of their late Sovereign. That kingdom
‘ is now divided into two parties, one of which
‘ is for preserving the peace with all its neigh-
‘ bours, particularly *Muscovy*, and strictly obser-
‘ ving those treaties that have been concluded
‘ since the accession of their present King;
‘ whereas the other, which is the most turbu-
‘ lent, and of course the most popular, is for
‘ taking the first opportunity for endeavouring
‘ to recover those provinces which were dis-
‘ membered from that kingdom, by the misfor-
‘ tunes of the late reign, notwithstanding their
‘ having been yielded to the potentates now in
‘ possession of them, in the most solemn man-
‘ ner, and by the most express and explicit trea-
‘ ties of peace.

‘ Of these two parties, my Lords, the first
‘ has always been for cultivating a good corre-
‘ spondence with this nation; because they may
‘ depend upon being supported by us, in case
‘ their country should be unjustly attacked by
‘ any ambitious neighbour: They have nothing
‘ but just and peaceable views; and in these,
‘ they stand in no need of any alliance but that
‘ of this kingdom. But the views of the other
‘ party, my Lords, are very different: Their
‘ views are unjust, and in the prosecution of
‘ such, they can expect no encouragement or as-
‘ sistance from this nation. They can expect as-
‘ sistance from no power in *Europe* but *France*;
‘ and this makes them ready to second the views
‘ of that kingdom, and to enter into any alli-
‘ ance that may be proposed to them by the
‘ court of *France*. This party, by their intrigues
‘ among the members of the last diet, and by
‘ the hopes they gave the people of recovering
‘ their lost provinces, which, however impro-
‘ bable, will always be popular, have got them-
‘ selves established in the administration of pub-

‘ lick affairs ; and, as soon as they had effected
‘ this, they immediately concluded an alliance
‘ with *France*, and began to make preparations
‘ both by sea and land, as if they had some
‘ grand project in view.

‘ What the design of these preparations may
‘ be, or what design the *French* may have in
‘ giving so large a subsidy to *Sweden*, and in of-
‘ fering so considerable a subsidy to *Denmark*,
‘ are secrets which the world is not as yet let
‘ into ; but, considering the precarious footing
‘ upon which the peace between *Spain* and us
‘ stands at present, and considering the uncer-
‘ tainty of the measures *France* may take, in
‘ case of a war between this nation and *Spain*, it
‘ would have been very imprudent in us, to
‘ have allowed *France* to engage both the nor-
‘ thern crowns in an alliance, in which there
‘ would probably have been some secret articles,
‘ which might have been of great prejudice to
‘ this nation. I have already shewn, why it was
‘ impossible for us to prevent the now governing
‘ party in *Sweden*, from entering into the alli-
‘ ance proposed to them by *France* ; therefore,
‘ the only thing we could do, was to prevent
‘ the accession of *Denmark* to that alliance ; and
‘ there was no other method for doing this, but
‘ by concluding, with *Denmark*, such a treaty as
‘ his Majesty has now ordered to be laid before
‘ you. For this reason, I am convinced, there
‘ is no Lord in this house, that will not readily
‘ approve of this treaty, and most chearfully
‘ concur in enabling his Majesty to make good
‘ the engagements he has thereby entered into.

‘ My Lords, the advantages that must accrue
‘ to this nation from the treaty now before us,
‘ appear upon the face of the treaty itself ; but,
‘ when I tell your Lordships, that no alliance
‘ was ever more earnestly solicited, than the al-
‘ liance

‘ liance of *Denmark* was by *France* upon this oc-
‘ casion, these advantages will appear to be
‘ more considerable, and the necessity we were
‘ under of concluding this treaty will become
‘ manifest. The subsidy we are to pay to the
‘ crown of *Denmark*, is, ’tis true, a little extra-
‘ ordinary; but when we consider, that a much
‘ larger subsidy was offered by *France*, we must
‘ conclude, that nothing more evidently points
‘ out to us the wisdom of the King of *Denmark*,
‘ and his good inclinations towards this nation,
‘ than his rejecting, upon this occasion, the of-
‘ fers of *France*, and accepting from us a much
‘ smaller subsidy than was offered to him by
‘ that kingdom. I shall grant, it was more for
‘ the interest of *Denmark* to join in an alliance
‘ with this kingdom, than to join in an alliance
‘ with *France*; but, when the interest of a court
‘ happens to be opposite to that of the country,
‘ it requires some address in those that apply to
‘ them, it requires wisdom in the court applied
‘ to, for prevailing upon them to prefer the lat-
‘ ter. This was the case in our late negotiati-
‘ ons with *Denmark*: It was the interest of that
‘ court to accept of the larger subsidy offered by
‘ *France*; it was the interest of the country to
‘ accept of the lesser subsidy offered by *Great*
‘ *Britain*. This, we may suppose, was set in
‘ its true light, by those who were employed by
‘ his Majesty in that negotiation; and his *Da-*
‘ *nish* Majesty’s natural good sense prevailed with
‘ him, as it ought, and, I hope, always will, to
‘ prefer a future interest to a present advantage,
‘ and to sacrifice his own immediate interest to
‘ the happiness of his country, and the security
‘ of his posterity.

‘ I hope your Lordships will excuse my ha-
‘ ving said so much upon the first part of the
‘ message now under your consideration, which
‘ is,

‘ is, indeed, of such a nature, that I cannot
‘ suggest to myself any objection that can be
‘ made against our complying with it; and as to
‘ the other part of the message, it appears, in
‘ my way of thinking, as reasonable as the for-
‘ mer. I have often heard those plausible argu-
‘ ments, that are commonly made use of against
‘ votes of credit and confidence. Perhaps they
‘ may be repeated upon this occasion; and, I
‘ shall allow, that such votes ought not to be
‘ passed, but in cases of an extraordinary nature.
‘ I shall grant, it would be dangerous to intro-
‘ duce the custom of concluding every session of
‘ Parliament with a vote of credit and confi-
‘ dence, to the King then upon the throne; but
‘ this is what was never contended for; and
‘ whatever may be done upon any extraordinary
‘ emergency, can be no precedent for doing the
‘ like, when no such emergency exists. Upon
‘ such occasions, therefore, we are to consider
‘ the situation of our affairs at that instant of
‘ time; in order, from thence, to determine,
‘ whether such a vote be then necessary or no.
‘ If we do this, I believe, every Lord that hears
‘ me must agree, that a vote of credit and con-
‘ fidence was never more necessary than it is at
‘ this present conjuncture. We have, ’tis true,
‘ a convention with *Spain*; but that convention
‘ is only a sort of preliminary: The principal
‘ articles in dispute between *Spain* and us, re-
‘ main yet to be adjusted; and even those arti-
‘ cles, which by this convention were finally set-
‘ tled, remain still uncomplied with. The best
‘ way of securing a compliance, is to be in a
‘ condition to compel it; and the only method
‘ by which we can expect to have the other ar-
‘ ticles adjusted to our own liking, is to shew
‘ that we are ready to vindicate our rights by
‘ force of arms, in case the *Spaniards* should
‘ continue

‘ continue obstinate in refusing to acknowledge
‘ them by peaceable means.

‘ The session, my Lords, is now drawing to-
‘ wards a conclusion: The Parliament will pro-
‘ bably be prorogued; the season of the year is
‘ now so far advanced, that it will even become
‘ necessary for his Majesty to prorogue it, before
‘ he can know what may be the result of the
‘ present counsels of *Spain*; and if we should se-
‘ parate, without enabling his Majesty to put the
‘ nation into a warlike posture, as soon as the
‘ exigency of our affairs may require, it will en-
‘ courage the court of *Spain*, not only to refuse
‘ giving us satisfaction with regard to those dis-
‘ putes that remain as yet to be adjusted, but
‘ also to refuse performing those stipulations,
‘ which they have expressly promised by that
‘ convention, which has been ratified by both
‘ crowns. Thus, by neglecting to furnish his
‘ Majesty with those powers that are necessary
‘ for enabling him to engage in a war, we shall
‘ render a war unavoidable: By a groundless ap-
‘ prehension of running ourselves into a danger
‘ of a domestick nature, we shall run ourselves
‘ into a real foreign danger; and by refusing to
‘ empower his Majesty to put the nation to a
‘ small expence, which, by his being empower’d
‘ to do so, may become unnecessary, and which
‘ we are sure his Majesty will not put us to, un-
‘ less it be necessary, we may subject the nation
‘ to an immense charge, which in its present cir-
‘ cumstances, I am sorry to say, it is not well
‘ able to bear.

‘ From these considerations, my Lords, I must
‘ be of opinion, that there is as much reason
‘ for our complying with the second part of this
‘ message, as with the first; and as I can apprehend
‘ no danger from our complying with both, I
‘ shall take the liberty to move your Lordships
‘ to

‘ to resolve, *That an humble address be presented*
 ‘ *to his Majesty, to thank him for laying before this*
 ‘ *house the treaty lately concluded with the King of*
 ‘ *Denmark; and to assure his Majesty, that this*
 ‘ *house will not only concur in enabling him to make*
 ‘ *good the engagements he has entered into by that*
 ‘ *treaty; but also in enabling and supporting him to*
 ‘ *make such further augmentation of his forces, ei-*
 ‘ *ther by sea or land, as may become absolutely ne-*
 ‘ *cessary; and in concerting such measures, as the*
 ‘ *exigency of affairs may require.*’

The next that spoke upon this occasion, was the Lord Carteret, whose speech was to this effect, viz.

Lord Carteret's speech.

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ The noble Duke has very properly divided
 ‘ his Majesty's message into two parts: It con-
 ‘ sists, indeed, of two parts, and they are of so
 ‘ different a nature, and so distinct from one an-
 ‘ other, that I am surprized at his Majesty's ha-
 ‘ ving been advised to join them together in one
 ‘ and the same message. They are so distinct,
 ‘ that it is impossible to speak to them both to-
 ‘ gether; and therefore I must consider them se-
 ‘ parately, as the noble Duke has done before
 ‘ me.

‘ With regard to the first part, my Lords,
 ‘ which relates to the treaty lately concluded
 ‘ with *Denmark*, if the message had been con-
 ‘ fined to that treaty alone, I am persuaded no
 ‘ objection would have been made, by any Lord
 ‘ in this house, to our complying with what his
 ‘ Majesty desires; and, as I have often taken the
 ‘ liberty to find fault with our late measures, I
 ‘ am glad to have this opportunity of giving
 ‘ my approbation to something, that has been
 ‘ done by those now at the head of our admini-
 ‘ stration,

‘ stration. In our present circumstances, my
‘ Lords, and considering the present unlucky
‘ posture of affairs in *Europe*, to which we have,
‘ by our late measures, not a little contributed,
‘ the concluding of this treaty was absolutely ne-
‘ cessary for us, in order to prevent *Denmark’s*
‘ entering into any engagements that might be
‘ of dangerous consequence to the interest of this
‘ nation in particular, and the tranquillity of *Eu-*
‘ *rope* in general. Therefore, however expen-
‘ sive this treaty may be to us, yet, in the main I
‘ must think it was a wise, a right, and a necessary
‘ measure. But at the same time I cannot help
‘ observing, what can escape the observation of
‘ no man, who compares this treaty with those
‘ that have been concluded upon former occasions
‘ between the two crowns, That a nation, like
‘ a private man, the lower it sinks in its credit,
‘ the dearer it must pay for every favour it is o-
‘ bliged to sue for.

‘ This observation occurs the more readily to
‘ me, my Lords, because I was once concerned
‘ in negotiating a treaty of the same kind with
‘ the crown of *Denmark*. When I had the ho-
‘ nour to be employed by his late Majesty in his
‘ negotiations with the northern crowns, a treaty
‘ was concluded between him and the King of
‘ *Denmark*, of the same nature with this now be-
‘ fore us: But by that treaty we paid but seventy
‘ crowns for each horseman his *Danish* Majesty
‘ was to keep in readiness for our service; where-
‘ as, by this treaty we are to pay eighty crowns
‘ for every such horseman; which difference,
‘ tho’ it may appear inconsiderable, when confi-
‘ dered with respect to each single man, yet,
‘ upon a thousand horsemen, the number stipu-
‘ lated by this treaty, it amounts to a very large
‘ sum; and it is the more considerable, because,
‘ by the treaty we are obliged to pay immedi-
‘ ately

‘ ately one moiety of this eighty crowns for each
‘ horseman, and thirty crowns for each foot sol-
‘ dier, whether we have occasion for these troops
‘ or no. In this light, the difference of ten
‘ crowns upon each horseman will appear to be
‘ of some consequence, especially if we consider
‘ the present unfortunate circumstances of this
‘ nation, and the great charge we must be at, if
‘ a war should insue between us and *Spain*, which
‘ I have, indeed, long thought inevitable, and I
‘ have now more reason to think so, than ever I
‘ had before.

‘ Besides this disadvantage, my Lords, there
‘ are several others, which every Lord may see,
‘ by comparing the two treaties; but what is
‘ still worse, this treaty can be of no advantage
‘ to us, except that of preventing *Denmark*’s in-
‘ gaging against us, unless we can ingage in our
‘ interest several other powers upon the conti-
‘ nent besides *Denmark*. We can, by this trea-
‘ ty, make no use of the *Danish* troops in any
‘ expedition we may think fit to undertake a-
‘ gainst *Spain*; because it is expressly provided,
‘ by the sixth article of this treaty, That this
‘ corps of *Danish* troops shall not be made use
‘ of either in *Italy*, or upon the fleet, nor is it
‘ to be transported, in whole or in part, beyond
‘ sea, after it is come out of the territories of
‘ *Denmark*, except for the defence of the king-
‘ doms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. Nay, if
‘ *France* should join with *Spain* against us, we
‘ could make no use of this body of *Danish*
‘ troops, either against *Spain* or *France*, unless
‘ we should have occasion to form an army in
‘ *Germany* or *Flanders* against *France*; and this
‘ we neither can, nor shall have the least occa-
‘ sion for, unless we can form a confederacy a-
‘ mongst the Princes and States, who have domi-
‘ nions in that part of the world; which we
‘ have

‘ have as yet, I believe, no great hopes of being able to accomplish.

‘ This treaty with *Denmark*, my Lords, is but a preparatory step towards accomplishing so great and necessary a design: Several other steps must be made, and particularly, there is another power upon the continent, whom I may likewise call a northern power, whose alliance we ought to seek, upon the present occasion, as much as that of *Denmark*. When I say so, I believe every Lord that hears me will suppose, I mean the King of *Prussia*; he is a powerful Prince; he is a protestant Prince, my Lords, and one of the chief supports of the protestant cause in *Germany*. It is hardly possible, that ever any natural difference can arise between this nation and that crown; therefore, we ought always to cultivate a good correspondence with him; we ought even to promote his interest, and support his pretensions, as far as may be consistent with our own safety. While we do this, we may depend upon a grateful return, because it will always be his interest to be grateful; which, amongst Princes, is the only gratitude, that can with assurance be depended on. By our religion, we are embarked upon the same bottom with the King of *Prussia*; and as there can be no jarring of interests between the two crowns, we ought to support one another in all just pretensions, we ought to assist one another against every unjust attack. Therefore, I wish the second part of this message had been to acquaint us of a new alliance concluded with the King of *Prussia*, and to desire, that his Majesty might be enabled to perform the engagements thereby entered into; which, I am sure, would have been a second part more agreeable to the first, than

‘ than that which now stands second in this message.

‘ The danger of *Sweden*’s disturbing the tranquillity of the north, by attacking *Muscovy*, was not our only motive for concluding this treaty with *Denmark*: If it had, I am sure it would have been ridiculous in us to put ourselves to such an expence. We might have trusted to *Muscovy* for defending itself; and *Denmark* was not only by treaty, but in interest obliged to assist *Muscovy*, in case it had been attack’d by *Sweden*; therefore it would have been ridiculous in us to ingage *Denmark*, by a large subsidy, to do what was necessary for their own safety. But this, my Lords, was far from being our only motive; it was our own safety, that made it necessary for us to conclude this treaty; it was to prevent the fleets of *Denmark* and *Sweden* from being joined with that of *France*: Such a conjunction we had, we have still great reason to guard against on our own account, and without regard to the tranquillity of the north; because, in case of a war between us and *Spain*, we do not know what part *France* may take in the war: We are pretty certain, I believe, it will take no part with us; and if the *French* should join with the *Spaniards* against us, it would be of the most dangerous consequence, to have the navy of *France* increased and supported by the ships and seamen of *Denmark* as well as *Sweden*.

‘ This, my Lords, is what makes me in general approve of the treaty now laid before us. If our credit had been better, we might probably have obtained it upon more reasonable terms, and at a less expence; for tho’ *France* offered perhaps a larger subsidy, yet the terms were far from being so advantageous for the King or country of *Denmark*; it was not possible

‘ fible they fhould be fo; becaufe, in confidera-
‘ tion of the fubfidy offered by the court of
‘ *France*, that court would certainly have infifted
‘ upon a number of feamen and fhips of war
‘ from *Denmark*, as foon as they might have oc-
‘ cafion for them: They ftood in no need of any
‘ of the land forces of *Denmark*; they ftood in
‘ great need of their feamen and fhips of war;
‘ therefore, they would certainly have ftipulated
‘ a number of the latter, as a return for the fub-
‘ fidy they were to pay. This, the King of
‘ *Denmark* could not furnifh, or keep in readi-
‘ nefs, without putting himfelf to a very extra-
‘ ordinary and a new expence. Whereas we de-
‘ fired only a number of land forces, which the
‘ King of *Denmark* can furnifh, without putting
‘ himfelf to any new expence, becaufe he keeps
‘ in conftant pay fo great a number of regular
‘ troops, that he can furnifh us with the 6000
‘ ftipulated by this treaty, without adding one
‘ man to the number he has now in his pay.

‘ With regard, therefore, to the court of *Den-*
‘ *mark*, it was their intereft to accept of the leffer
‘ fubfidy from us, rather than the larger fubfidy
‘ from *France*; and with regard to the country,
‘ I am fure it was more for the intereft of the
‘ people of *Denmark* to fend away 6000 of their
‘ regular troops, than to fend away 6000 of
‘ their feamen. The latter they could not fpare
‘ without diftreffing their trade; but as to their
‘ regular troops, it is for the intereft of the peo-
‘ ple of *Denmark*, it is the intereft of every
‘ country, where fuch troops are kept up, to
‘ have them quartered any where, rather than at
‘ home. To this I muft add, my Lords, that
‘ the terms offered, and the engagements defired
‘ by *France*, could not but be inconfiftent with
‘ thofe treaties which are now fubfifting between
‘ *Mufcovy* and *Denmark*; and, I believe, every

‘ man in *Denmark* saw, that no subsidy that was,
‘ or could be offered by *France*, would be equal
‘ to the prejudice the crown and country of *Den-*
‘ *mark* might sustain, by the forfeiture of its al-
‘ liance with the *Russian* Empire.

‘ But, my Lords, the forfeiture of the friend-
‘ ship and confidence of the court of *Russia*, was
‘ not the only prejudice the crown and king-
‘ doms of *Denmark* would have suffered, by en-
‘ gaging in an alliance with *France* upon this oc-
‘ casion. Such an alliance would have been a
‘ breach of that antient friendship, which has so
‘ long subsisted between *Denmark* and this king-
‘ dom; and this might have been in many re-
‘ spects of fatal consequence to *Denmark*. Their
‘ chief nursery for seamen depends upon their
‘ trade with this kingdom; it depends upon
‘ their being allowed to import into this king-
‘ dom their timber, and all sorts of naval stores,
‘ in their own shipping, which is an advantage
‘ we may take from them, whenever we have a
‘ mind; and if we should take this advantage
‘ from them, their alliance would soon come to
‘ be despised by *France*; because it could be of
‘ little or no service to that kingdom. Nay,
‘ without a considerable number of seamen, and
‘ a large squadron of men of war, they would
‘ not be able to keep a communication and a
‘ mutual dependence between the several parts
‘ of their own dominions: Their King would
‘ then be obliged to depend upon *France*, for the
‘ preservation of his crown; and the certain con-
‘ sequence of this would be, an absolute subjec-
‘ tion to the King of *France*; which is a danger
‘ they have no reason to apprehend from the
‘ King of *Great Britain*; because, by the nature
‘ of our government, our King must consult the
‘ happiness of his people more than his own
‘ ambition; and it is inconsistent with our hap-
‘ piness

‘ piness to attempt to make conquests upon any
‘ part of the continent of *Europe*.

‘ Thus it must appear, my Lords, that tho’
‘ this treaty with the *Danes*, be a measure which
‘ in our present circumstances I highly approve,
‘ yet, in our having brought about such a trea-
‘ ty, we have no great cause to boast of our wis-
‘ dom in politicks, or our skill in negotiation:
‘ It was what common sense dictated to us, and
‘ the circumstances of the two nations rendered
‘ extremely convenient, if not absolutely neces-
‘ sary for them. I wish we had allowed our-
‘ selves to be as much governed by common
‘ sense in all our former treaties and negotiati-
‘ ons: If we had never deviated from the dic-
‘ tates of common sense, in order, I believe, to
‘ amaze the world with the profoundness of our
‘ politicks, neither the circumstances of this na-
‘ tion, nor the circumstances of *Europe*, would
‘ have been in the untoward posture in which
‘ they are at present.

‘ But now, my Lords, with regard to the se-
‘ cond part of this message; I am, indeed, not
‘ a little surprized, how it came to be tack’d to
‘ the first. As all messages are, in this house,
‘ supposed to be messages from the minister, I
‘ may say, without giving any just offence, that
‘ the two parts of this message seem to have
‘ been designedly tack’d together, in order to
‘ make the first part serve as an alluring vehicle,
‘ for enticing us to swallow down the bitter pill
‘ contained in the second. A general and unli-
‘ mited vote of credit and confidence, is a thing
‘ of a most dangerous nature. Such a demand,
‘ our ancestors would have been amazed at, and
‘ would certainly have rejected with scorn. The
‘ practice is but of a modern date in this king-
‘ dom. It was never heard of before the Revo-
‘ lution; and never became frequent, till this

‘ nation was blessed with our present wise admi-
‘ nistration. Since that happy period began, I
‘ shall grant, that such messages have been fre-
‘ quent, and always punctually complied with,
‘ notwithstanding our having been in a continual
‘ course of peace, tho’ I cannot say, tranquil-
‘ lity, during the whole time. What the rea-
‘ sons were for making such demands, or what
‘ the reasons were for complying so punctually
‘ with them, I shall not now enquire; but, I
‘ must think, that such demands, and such com-
‘ pliances, are rather an omen of our bad con-
‘ duct in time to come, than a demonstration of
‘ our good conduct in time past.

‘ Whatever we may think, my Lords, here,
‘ at home, I have good reason to believe, that
‘ the frequency of such demands, and the ready
‘ compliance they have all met with, renders
‘ our constitution the common jest of every man
‘ abroad. Our pretences to liberty will, I fear,
‘ in a short time, become as much the ridicule
‘ of foreigners, as our late conduct has already
‘ rendered our pretences to the holding of the
‘ balance of power in *Europe*. I was confirmed
‘ in this opinion, by a question lately put to me
‘ by a *French* nobleman: He was a man of good
‘ sense, and yet, he one day seriously asked
‘ me, what difference there was between the
‘ Parliament of *England*, and the Parliaments
‘ they have in *France*? I readily answered, and
‘ I hope I had some ground for saying, that in
‘ *France*, the King makes their laws or edicts,
‘ and their Parliaments must comply with what-
‘ ever the King desires; but in *England* our laws
‘ are made by King and Parliament, and our
‘ Parliaments may refuse to comply with what
‘ the King desires. To which, he as readily re-
‘ plied, In your late history, we read of several
‘ extraordinary messages or demands sent by
‘ your

‘ your King to his Parliament, no one of which
‘ was ever refused ; and pray, where is the dif-
‘ ference between an edict made by the King,
‘ and an edict made by King and Parliament, if
‘ the Parliament never refuses what the King is
‘ pleased to demand ? for, our Parliaments claim
‘ the privilege of refusing as well as yours ; and,
‘ if a trial were to be made, such a refusal
‘ might, perhaps, be found as insignificant in
‘ *England*, as it now appears to be in *France*.

‘ This, I am apt to believe, my Lords, is
‘ the way of thinking in other countries, as well
‘ as *France* ; and, if a general vote of credit
‘ and confidence should once become a sort of
‘ customary compliment from the Parliament to
‘ the Crown, at the end of every session, or as
‘ often as our ministers may think fit to desire
‘ it, this may become the way of thinking at
‘ home as well as abroad. If this should ever
‘ come to be the case, our Parliaments will of
‘ course become despicable in the eyes of most
‘ of our own people ; and, when the form of
‘ an act of Parliament begins to be contemned,
‘ a proclamation may easily and safely be substi-
‘ tuted in its stead. It would, indeed, be happy
‘ for the nation, it were so ; for, when a Parlia-
‘ ment ceases to be a check upon ministers, it
‘ becomes an useless and unnecessary burden
‘ upon the people. The representatives of the
‘ people in Parliament, must always be paid,
‘ some way or other, by the people : If their
‘ wages are not paid openly and fairly by their
‘ respective constituents, as they were formerly,
‘ a majority of them may, in future times, be
‘ always ready to accept of wages from the ad-
‘ ministration, which must, at last, come out of
‘ the pockets of the people, and will fall with
‘ a much greater weight upon them, at the
‘ same time that it renders their representatives

‘ of no use to them. There is no way of pre-
‘ venting this, but by putting it out of the
‘ power of ministers to pay wages, either to the
‘ electors or elected; and this can be no way
‘ done, but by strictly confining publick grants
‘ to publick services, according to the estimates
‘ previously delivered in to Parliament.

‘ But suppose, my Lords, our constitution
‘ could be no way endangered by a compliance
‘ with this extraordinary demand, I do not think
‘ it is in our power to comply with every article
‘ of it. To enable his Majesty to augment his
‘ forces by land, is what, I think, we cannot
‘ do, by a vote of this house. We have al-
‘ ready, by the mutiny bill, limited the number
‘ of land forces, for the service of this ensu-
‘ ing year, to 17704 men. By that bill, which
‘ is already passed into a law, we say, that the
‘ whole number of men for guards and garisons
‘ in *Great Britain*, to be kept up for the ensuing
‘ year, shall be 17704 men; and shall we pre-
‘ tend, by a vote of this house, to enable his
‘ Majesty to keep up a greater number? Would
‘ not this be repealing an act of Parliament by
‘ a vote of this house? Will any Lord pretend
‘ to say we have such a power? By the mutiny
‘ bill, my Lords, a certain limited number of
‘ men are divested of the privileges they enjoy
‘ as *British* subjects, and made liable to martial
‘ law: Can we add to this number by a vote?
‘ Can we, by such a method, divest any one sin-
‘ gle man in the kingdom of any privilege he
‘ enjoys as a subject of *Great Britain*? Such a
‘ pretence, my Lords, may be of the most dan-
‘ gerous consequence: If we once begin to as-
‘ sume such a power, I shall expect, in a little
‘ time, to hear it insisted on, that the *Habeas Cor-*
‘ *pus* act, or *Magna Charta* itself, may be sus-
‘ pended by a vote of this house; and as such a
‘ vote

‘ vote may be obtained by surprize, and the
‘ Parliament immediately dissolved or prorogued,
‘ we may judge what a precarious state the liber-
‘ ties of this nation would be in, should the
‘ least pretence be given for introducing such a
‘ maxim.

‘ Therefore, my Lords, however fond we
‘ may be of complying with the first part of
‘ this message, I think, it is evident, that we
‘ neither can nor ought to comply with the se-
‘ cond. Let us but consider the circumstances
‘ we are in with regard to *Spain*, and we must
‘ think it a little odd, that such a message
‘ should have been sent to us at such a time.
‘ In less than a fortnight we shall be able to de-
‘ termine positively, whether we are to have
‘ peace or war. If we are to have peace, there
‘ was no occasion for sending such a message,
‘ there can be no necessity for our complying
‘ with it; unless we have a mind to make a
‘ breach in our constitution, out of mere com-
‘ pliment to the minister: And, if we are to
‘ have war, we ought to provide for the prose-
‘ cution of that war, in a regular and parlia-
‘ mentary method. The 24th of this month, is
‘ the last day *Spain* has for paying the 95,000*l.*
‘ stipulated by the late convention. If they fail
‘ of performance, we must go to war: It would
‘ be dishonourable to the last degree, to sue for
‘ a performance of that article, by any other
‘ means than the mouth of our cannon. But,
‘ if they pay that sum of money, on or before
‘ that day, tho’ it be but a small recompence
‘ for the damages we have sustained, yet I shall
‘ think it a certain omen of peace, because I
‘ shall look upon it as a testimony of their ha-
‘ ving a real inclination to do us justice. For
‘ this reason, I think, the only proper method
‘ we can take upon this occasion, is to resume

‘ the house, and adjourn the consideration of
 ‘ his Majesty’s most gracious message, to the
 ‘ 25th of this month; for, if it should then
 ‘ appear, that we must go to war, I am sure,
 ‘ no Lord in this house can be more zealous,
 ‘ than I shall be, for enabling his Majesty to
 ‘ prosecute the war in the most vigorous and ef-
 ‘ fectual manner.’

The next speech we shall give, was that made by the Lord Chancellor, who spoke to the effect as follows, *viz.*

Lord Chan-
 cellor’s
 speech.

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ As most of the arguments that have been
 ‘ urged against our complying with this mes-
 ‘ sage, have been chiefly directed against that
 ‘ part of it, by which his Majesty hopes to be
 ‘ enabled and supported by his Parliament, in
 ‘ making such further augmentation of his for-
 ‘ ces, either by sea or land, as may become
 ‘ absolutely necessary, and in concerting such
 ‘ measures, as the exigency of affairs may re-
 ‘ quire; I shall confine what I have to say upon
 ‘ the subject, to that part of the message; for I
 ‘ cannot think the noble Lord who proposed re-
 ‘ suming the house, was serious when he made
 ‘ that proposition. I cannot think, he really in-
 ‘ tended we should defer a moment giving his
 ‘ Majesty the utmost satisfaction, as to that part
 ‘ of the message which relates to the treaty with
 ‘ *Demark*. The noble Lord himself gave one
 ‘ of the best reasons that can be thought of, for
 ‘ an immediate compliance with that part of the
 ‘ message. He told us, that in our present cir-
 ‘ cumstances, it was necessary for us to bring se-
 ‘ veral other powers, besides that of *Denmark*,
 ‘ into an alliance with us. Whether this be so
 ‘ or not, I shall not pretend to determine; but
 ‘ if

‘ if it is, I am fure, we ought not to delay one
‘ moment, our coming to a resolution to ap-
‘ prove of this treaty with *Denmark*, and to de-
‘ clare that we will enable his Majesty to make
‘ good the engagements he has thereby entered
‘ into. What a damp would it throw upon his
‘ Majesty’s negotiations, for concluding treaties
‘ of alliance with the other powers of *Europe*,
‘ if they should hear, that the Parliament had
‘ delayed approving of the very first treaty of
‘ that kind, which his Majesty has thought fit
‘ to make upon the present occasion? This
‘ would of course put a stop to all his Majesty’s
‘ negotiations at foreign courts, and at some of
‘ them, it might be the occasion of an absolute
‘ disappointment; because it might, it probably
‘ would, make some of them immediately re-
‘ solve to accept of the terms offered by our
‘ enemies, who are now endeavouring to out-bid
‘ us at every court in *Europe*.

‘ Therefore, my Lords, I hope we shall im-
‘ mediately agree to what the noble Duke has
‘ been pleased to propose, with regard to the
‘ first part of this message, whatever we may do
‘ as to that which regards the second. But,
‘ even as to the second, I cannot think there is
‘ the least weight in any of the objections that
‘ have been made against our complying with it.
‘ Our constitution can be no way endangered by
‘ the Parliament’s giving the crown their au-
‘ thority, to do what it may do without any
‘ such authority. By the very nature of our
‘ constitution, the crown has, during the recess
‘ of Parliament, a sort of dictatorial power to
‘ take care *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*;
‘ and, in consequence of this power, his Ma-
‘ jesty may augment his forces, both by sea and
‘ land, if it should become absolutely necessary,
‘ and he may concert such measures as any sud-
‘ den

‘ den exigency may require, without a previous
‘ authority from Parliament for that purpose.
‘ When it can be foreseen, that such a necessity
‘ may probably happen, or that such an exigency
‘ may probably arise, the authority of Parlia-
‘ ment ought to be previously ask’d; and, when
‘ that probability appears to be in any high de-
‘ gree, either from the circumstances of affairs
‘ at the time, or from what his Majesty then
‘ communicates, the Parliament ought to grant
‘ the authority demanded. Such a message from
‘ the crown, or the Parliament’s complying with
‘ that message, is so far from being inconsistent
‘ with, that it is highly agreeable to our consti-
‘ tution; because, the sending of such a mes-
‘ sage, is a token of that regard which the
‘ crown ought always to have for the authority
‘ of Parliament, and a compliance with it, is a
‘ testimony of that concern which the Parlia-
‘ ment ought always to have for the publick
‘ safety.

‘ I am not at all surprized, my Lords, that
‘ no such message was ever heard of before the
‘ Revolution. Before that happy settlement of
‘ our constitution, most of our Kings shewed as
‘ little regard to our Parliaments as they possibly
‘ could. They never asked either the advice or
‘ authority of Parliament, but when it was abso-
‘ lutely necessary for them to do so. Nay, they
‘ were so fond of prerogative, and of acting by
‘ that alone, that they attempted too many
‘ things by virtue of prerogative, which ought
‘ not to have been done without the authority of
‘ Parliament. But as King *William* never made
‘ use of the prerogative of the crown, but in
‘ cases in which only it ought to have been
‘ made use of, that is, when the publick safety
‘ made it necessary, he applied by message for
‘ the authority of Parliament, as often as he
‘ had

‘ had occasion : Queen *Anne* did the same : His
‘ late Majesty could not fail of following so
‘ good an example ; and if such messages have
‘ been more frequent in this reign than in any
‘ former, it must have proceeded from the many
‘ changes that have lately happened in the af-
‘ fairs of *Europe*, and the extraordinary regard
‘ his present Majesty has for the privileges and
‘ authority of Parliament. It could proceed
‘ from no sinister design ; because no bad use
‘ has been made of the ready compliance, his
‘ Majesty has met with from his Parliament
‘ upon every such occasion. It cannot be so
‘ much as insinuated, that, in consequence of
‘ these compliances, his Majesty has put the na-
‘ tion to any unnecessary expence, or that the
‘ expences the nation has been put to, in conse-
‘ quence of the confidence reposed from time to
‘ time in his Majesty, have not been regularly
‘ and strictly accounted for ; and therefore, du-
‘ ring his present Majesty’s reign at least, I
‘ should think, that our past experience ought
‘ to be sufficient for removing all future jea-
‘ lousy.

‘ But suppose, my Lords, that our former
‘ Kings had all endeavoured as much to shew a
‘ regard for the authority of Parliament, as
‘ some of them did endeavour to shew a con-
‘ tempt of it, yet, before the Revolution, there
‘ was no occasion for any such message, because
‘ the custom of appropriating the publick grants
‘ to their respective services did not till then
‘ take place. Before that time, the publick
‘ grants were made without any appropriation ;
‘ so that the King, or his servants by his autho-
‘ rity, could apply the money to such services
‘ as they thought most pressing ; and, if any
‘ sudden emergency happened, which required
‘ an extraordinary and immediate expence, the
‘ services

‘ services that were not so pressing, were put
‘ off, or left unsupplied, till the Parliament
‘ should meet, in order to make a new pro-
‘ vision for them, and the money designed for
‘ them was applied to those unforeseen exigen-
‘ cies which demanded an immediate supply.
‘ Whereas, since the custom prevailed, of ap-
‘ propriating all parliamentary grants to their
‘ respective services, no minister can, even by
‘ his Majesty’s authority, apply to one service,
‘ however urgent, what has been appropriated
‘ by Parliament to another; and therefore, when
‘ there is a probability, that some services may
‘ accidentally arise, during the recess of Parlia-
‘ ment, that could not be foreseen, or that
‘ could not be regularly provided for by Parlia-
‘ ment, it becomes necessary to furnish his Ma-
‘ jesty with such a credit and confidence, as is
‘ demanded by the second part of the message,
‘ now under our consideration.

‘ As this credit and confidence, my Lords,
‘ can last no longer than till next session of Par-
‘ liament, and as every following session of Par-
‘ liament must necessarily begin, within seven or
‘ eight months after the expiration of the pre-
‘ ceding, it is impossible to suppose, that any
‘ such vote of credit and confidence can ever be
‘ of dangerous consequence to our constitution;
‘ because, in so short a time, it will always be
‘ impossible to raise and discipline such a num-
‘ ber of forces, or to levy such sums of money,
‘ as would be necessary for overturning the liber-
‘ ties of this nation; especially, if we consider,
‘ that, by virtue of such a vote of credit and
‘ confidence, his Majesty can impose no taxes,
‘ nor force any loans, nor can any man thereby
‘ be compelled to list in his Majesty’s land ser-
‘ vice. If the administration should attempt to
‘ levy forces, or borrow money, without any
‘ apparent

‘ apparent necessity, the people would imme-
‘ diately become jealous of their having designs
‘ against the liberties of their country ; and, in
‘ that case, no man would lend money to the
‘ government, or list in the government’s ser-
‘ vice : Even the officers of the army them-
‘ selves, will be apt to declare against such new
‘ levies, and if they did not refuse to obey,
‘ they would certainly be very negligent in ful-
‘ filling the orders issued for that purpose ;
‘ which would of course render the designs of
‘ the administration abortive, and next session of
‘ Parliament would certainly punish them for
‘ the attempt.

‘ Thus it must appear, my Lords, that our
‘ constitution can be brought into no danger, by
‘ our complying with what is proposed ; and as
‘ to our having a power to comply with every
‘ thing demanded by this message, I wonder to
‘ hear it made the least doubt of. We have
‘ not, my Lords, by the mutiny bill, confined
‘ or limited the number of troops to be kept up
‘ for the ensuing year. We had no occasion to
‘ do so ; because, the keeping up of any num-
‘ ber of troops, within this kingdom, in time of
‘ peace, without consent of Parliament, is, by
‘ the nature of our constitution illegal, and is
‘ expressly declared to be so, not only by the
‘ claim of right, but by the preamble to that
‘ very bill itself. For this reason, a certain
‘ number of troops is mentioned in the pream-
‘ ble to that bill, in order that we may give our
‘ consent to the keeping up of that number ;
‘ but none of the enacting clauses relate to that
‘ number, or any other number. They relate
‘ to all the troops that shall be kept up ; and if,
‘ by any future vote, we give our consent to the
‘ keeping up of a greater number than is men-
‘ tioned in the preamble of that bill, the enact-
‘ ing

‘ ing clauses relate to, and comprehend the ad-
‘ ditional number, as well as the number men-
‘ tioned in the preamble. Therefore, the reso-
‘ lution we may come to upon this occasion, can
‘ no way be understood as a repeal, or as an al-
‘ teration of the mutiny bill: It can be confi-
‘ dered only as a signification of the consent of
‘ Parliament, to the keeping up of a greater
‘ number of troops than were thought necessary
‘ when the mutiny bill was passed; and surely
‘ the consent of Parliament may be signified by
‘ a vote or resolution, in pursuance of a message
‘ from his Majesty, as well as by the preamble
‘ to a bill.

‘ We do not, my Lords, by the resolution
‘ now proposed, subject any man in the king-
‘ dom to martial law, nor do we divest any man
‘ in the kingdom of the privileges he enjoys, or
‘ ought to enjoy, as a subject of *Great Britain*.
‘ It is already done to our hands, by the mutiny
‘ bill, which is now passed into a law. By that
‘ bill, every man that shall voluntarily list him-
‘ self in his Majesty’s land service, without any
‘ restriction as to the number of men so to be
‘ listed, is made liable to martial law; and, by
‘ the resolution now proposed, we only give
‘ our consent to his Majesty’s taking a greater
‘ number into that service, than we consented to
‘ by the preamble of that bill. There is no-
‘ thing therefore in what is now proposed, that
‘ can furnish the least pretence for laying it
‘ down as a maxim, that the *Habeas Corpus* act,
‘ or any other act, can be suspended by a vote
‘ of both, or either house of Parliament.

‘ From what I have said, my Lords, I hope
‘ it will appear, that there is no weight in any
‘ of the objections made to our complying with
‘ this message. But, in my opinion, our refu-
‘ sing, or even delaying to comply, may, in the
‘ present

‘ present ticklish conjuncture of affairs, be at-
 ‘ tended with the most fatal consequences. *Spain*
 ‘ has already long depended upon gaining some
 ‘ advantages from our intestine divisions. It is
 ‘ to this only, we can with justice impute the
 ‘ obstinacy they have shewn in refusing to do us
 ‘ justice. They have, at last, promised to make
 ‘ us some satisfaction for past injuries; and the
 ‘ term allowed them for performing that pro-
 ‘ mise, is now near expired; but, if the 95,000*l.*
 ‘ which they are to pay to us on that account,
 ‘ were now in *London*, and ready to be paid, I
 ‘ do not know but our delaying to give his Ma-
 ‘ jesty the satisfaction of complying with his
 ‘ most gracious message, would prevent that
 ‘ sum’s being paid within the term limited.
 ‘ The agents for *Spain* would immediately begin
 ‘ to expect a breach between his Majesty and his
 ‘ Parliament, which would of course encourage
 ‘ them to delay making that stipulated payment,
 ‘ till they had new instructions from *Spain*; and
 ‘ thus, by delaying to agree with his Majesty’s
 ‘ message, we should render a war unavoidable,
 ‘ at the same time that we rendered it impossible
 ‘ for his Majesty to provide for it, either by al-
 ‘ liances abroad, or armaments at home. For
 ‘ these reasons, I shall most heartily join with
 ‘ the noble Duke in the motion he has made,
 ‘ and I hope we shall have the concurrence of a
 ‘ majority of this house.’

The next speech we shall give, was made by
 the Duke of *Argyle*, the purport of which was
 as follows, *viz.*

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ It is no new thing to see the demands and Duke of
 ‘ the projects of ministers ushered into this house *Argyle’s*
 ‘ under the name of our Sovereign: When any *speech.*

‘ extraordinary demand is to be made, or when
‘ any dangerous powers are to be asked for by
‘ our ministers, it has always been their custom,
‘ to screen themselves under the sacred name of
‘ Majesty; and when such demands are op-
‘ posed by those who have a true regard for
‘ their Sovereign, but no very great regard, per-
‘ haps, for his ministers, the advocates for those
‘ demands, are sure to follow the example that
‘ has been set them, by introducing his Maje-
‘ sty’s name into every part of the debate. Our
‘ ministers ask a power to put the nation to
‘ what expence they please, and as an argu-
‘ ment for our complying with this demand, we
‘ are told, his Majesty never put the nation to
‘ any unnecessary expence: Our ministers ask
‘ such powers as will, of course, if they are fre-
‘ quently granted, render Parliaments of no use
‘ to the people, whatever they may be to an ad-
‘ ministration; and to induce us to render our-
‘ selves useless, we are told, that this modest
‘ demand proceeds from the great regard his
‘ Majesty has for the authority of Parliament.

‘ This, my Lords, is a way of arguing, that
‘ must lay your Lordships under great difficul-
‘ ties, and is, I am sure, no sign of any true re-
‘ gard for the King, whose name ought never to
‘ be introduced into any debate; therefore I
‘ wish that all such messages were sent hither
‘ in the name of those that advise them, whom
‘ I shall always look on as the persons that really
‘ send them. It is upon me particularly a great
‘ hardship, to see any thing sent hither in his
‘ Majesty’s name which I do not approve of;
‘ for as the King is not only my Sovereign, but
‘ my Master, it is with the utmost reluctance I
‘ can say any thing against a proposition that ap-
‘ pears in his name. But, my Lords, I know
‘ his Majesty so well, I am so well assured of
‘ the

‘ the regard he has for our constitution, that I
‘ cannot look upon this anticonstitutional message
‘ as coming from him. I must consider it as a
‘ message from some of his ministers, and I shall
‘ treat it accordingly.

‘ It is a message, my Lords, of a most danger-
‘ ous nature; for if such messages should be fre-
‘ quently sent, and frequently complied with, it
‘ will end in a total overthrow of our constitution.
‘ The business of Parliament is to prevent its being
‘ possible to run the nation into any needless ex-
‘ pence; for after a needless expence is incurred,
‘ we may punish the advisers, but there is no re-
‘ calling the expence. The guilty head of a wick-
‘ ed or weak minister is but a poor atonement to
‘ the nation; and his fortune, however immense,
‘ may prove but a very insufficient recompence for
‘ the damage the nation may suffer, and the charge
‘ it may be put to, by one ridiculous or imprudent
‘ measure. For this reason the Parliament ought
‘ to examine and judge of the services, before they
‘ think of granting funds for supplying those ser-
‘ vices; and it is for this reason that particular
‘ estimates of the respective services necessary for
‘ the ensuing year, are always laid before Parlia-
‘ ment. From those estimates we can judge, not
‘ only of the services intended, but also of the
‘ sums necessary for supplying those services; and
‘ if we disapprove of the services, we may, and
‘ ought to refuse granting any funds for their sup-
‘ ply; or if we think the sums demanded too
‘ large, we may, and ought to grant no more than
‘ what shall appear to be absolutely necessary for
‘ the supply of those services we approve of. But
‘ by granting such a vote of credit and confidence
‘ as is demanded by this message, we can neither
‘ judge of the measures intended, nor of the sums
‘ necessary for the execution of those measures;
‘ whereby we render ourselves quite useless, as to

‘ that of being able to prevent the nation’s being
‘ put to any unnecessary expence: Therefore, if
‘ such a vote as this now demanded, should once
‘ come to be an usual methodical conclusion to
‘ each session of Parliament, I shall then begin to
‘ think Parliaments of no use to, I shall think
‘ them a most unnecessary burden upon the people.

‘ We are told, my Lords, that an account shall
‘ be laid before next session of Parliament, of all
‘ the extraordinary expences the nation may be put
‘ to, by virtue of the credit and confidence now
‘ demanded. What signifies this to the nation?
‘ Will this make good the expence that may be
‘ unnecessarily incurred? Will this atone for the
‘ damage the nation may sustain by a rash or ridi-
‘ culous project? Such an after-account can, in my
‘ opinion, never be of the least signification. I
‘ shall never think, that a Parliament that will
‘ grant such a credit and confidence, will ever find
‘ fault with any expence the nation may be put to
‘ in pursuance of that credit and confidence, or
‘ that they will find fault with any article in the
‘ account. In such a Parliament, I shall always
‘ expect to see panegyrical votes of approbation
‘ passed in every following session, with regard to
‘ those measures that were undertaken, and those
‘ expences that were incurred, in pursuance of a
‘ vote of unlimited credit and confidence passed in
‘ the preceding. And if a new Parliament should
‘ intervene, there is nothing can be of more service
‘ to a minister, for enabling him to get a house of
‘ Commons to his mind, than his being appointed
‘ the sole and whole executor of the expiring Par-
‘ liament. Therefore, if a check be not put to
‘ the sending of such messages as this now under
‘ our consideration, I shall soon expect to see every
‘ session of Parliament open with a general appro-
‘ bation of all the minister has done in time past,
‘ and

‘ and conclude with a general power to do what-
‘ ever he pleases in time to come.

‘ My Lords, let us but examine the arguments
‘ made use of upon this occasion, and we shall find,
‘ that most of them may, with equal weight, be
‘ made use of at the end of every session. We are
‘ told, that during the recess of Parliament, his
‘ Majesty has a sort of dictatorial power, which
‘ would enable him to do all that is desired by this
‘ message, and that therefore our constitution can
‘ never be in any danger, by our giving him an
‘ authority to do what he might do without any
‘ such previous authority. Is not this, my Lords,
‘ an argument that may be made use of with equal
‘ weight at the end of every session? Can we sup-
‘ pose a time when it may be positively affirmed,
‘ that no sudden emergency can arise during the
‘ recess? We can now, or at least we may in a few
‘ days, as certainly foresee what will happen du-
‘ ring the recess, as we can ever do at the end of
‘ any session of Parliament. Therefore, the timing
‘ of this message deserves our particular notice.
‘ It seems calculated for establishing it as a custom,
‘ that at the end of every session, our Parliament
‘ ought to invest our ministers with an absolute
‘ power, and an unlimited credit. I shall grant,
‘ that in case of a very sudden and very imminent
‘ danger, the crown has a sort of dictatorial power;
‘ but I will say, that in such a case, the Parliament
‘ ought to be assembled as soon as possible. I will
‘ say, that no good man, no wise minister would
‘ advise the crown to make use of that power for
‘ one week longer than necessity required; so that
‘ the exercise of it can never, by our constitution,
‘ last for above five or six weeks; whereas, by
‘ granting such a parliamentary authority as is now
‘ demanded, we give our ministers an authority,
‘ or at least a pretence, for exercising that dictato-
‘ rial power for seven or eight months. In the

‘ former case, the exercise of it can never be of any
 ‘ dangerous consequence, because our people would
 ‘ not submit to it, if exercised without an apparent
 ‘ necessity, or without summoning the Parliament
 ‘ to assemble as soon as possible; and in so short a
 ‘ time no dangerous use can be made of it. But
 ‘ when the exercise of this power is founded upon
 ‘ a previous authority from Parliament, the people
 ‘ will submit to it without enquiry; and, in so
 ‘ long a time, such an use may be made of it, as
 ‘ may render it perpetual; for our ministers, in
 ‘ such a case, would never allow the Parliament to
 ‘ assemble, unless they were sure of having such a
 ‘ Parliament, as would begin the session by appro-
 ‘ ving of the use they had made of their power,
 ‘ and conclude the session with giving them a re-
 ‘ newal of their term.

‘ If we are to have peace, if there is the least
 ‘ probability that *Spain* will comply, even with
 ‘ that nominal satisfaction we have submitted to
 ‘ accept of, there can be no reason for our com-
 ‘ plying with this message, there could be no rea-
 ‘ son for sending it, beside that I have mentioned.
 ‘ But, my Lords, I am far from thinking that we
 ‘ shall have peace. I believe we must at last go to
 ‘ war. The *Spaniards* will do nothing, as long as
 ‘ they have such a contemptible opinion of us.
 ‘ We must beat them into a better, I hope a right-
 ‘ er opinion of us, before we can expect they will
 ‘ give us either satisfaction or security. If this be
 ‘ the case, why do not our ministers tell us so?
 ‘ The King, I know, is for laying every thing
 ‘ before us. The ministers ought, it is their in-
 ‘ terest to do so. It is the interest, at least of the
 ‘ majority of them, to lay every thing fairly and
 ‘ openly before Parliament. We could then pro-
 ‘ vide for war in a regular parliamentary method.
 ‘ But this, we are told, would be divulging the
 ‘ secrets of the government: It would be declaring
 ‘ war

‘ war against *Spain*, before we have provided for
‘ carrying it on. What! are we then to steal a
‘ war upon the *Spaniards*? Are we to steal a sa-
‘ tisfaction from that contemptible, though insolent
‘ nation?

‘ My Lords, we have no occasion to do so;
‘ and I am sure we ought not to make an incroach-
‘ ment upon our constitution for such a needless,
‘ such an insignificant purpose. If the war be
‘ prosecuted in a proper and vigorous manner, we
‘ now have, or may have, before they can prepare
‘ for their defence, a sufficient force both at land
‘ and sea; a force that may fully enable us, not
‘ only to defend ourselves, but to revenge, in the
‘ most ample manner, the insults they have put
‘ upon the nation, and the depredations they have
‘ committed upon our merchants. This, I say,
‘ we have a power to do, but God knows what
‘ may be done, if our warlike measures be con-
‘ ducted with the same sort of spirit, that our
‘ peaceable measures have been for so many years
‘ past. I have, my Lords, lived a long while in
‘ the world: I have lived so long as to wonder at
‘ nothing.—I beg pardon, there is still one thing
‘ I should wonder at: I should wonder, if those
‘ who have brought us into such a deplorable and
‘ contemptible state, should ever be able to bring
‘ us out of it, or to recover either our character or
‘ their own.

‘ For God sake, my Lords, what are we afraid of?
‘ Are we afraid of *Spain*? That cannot be. Are we
‘ afraid lest *Spain* should be supported by *France*?
‘ What then? Must we do nothing but what *France*
‘ gives us leave to do? Must we make a sacrifice
‘ of our trade, our navigation, our honour, because
‘ *France* commands it, and threatens us with cor-
‘ rection if we do not obey. My Lords, we had
‘ better submit to become a province to *France*,
‘ because they would then think themselves obli-

ged to defend us. But this I shall never submit to, I shall chuse to die with my sword in my hand, rather than meanly live to see my country made a *French* province; and if this should ever come to be the question, I hope I should still find in this kingdom many companions; I am sure every true *Briton* would share the same fate with me. With such men, to live or not to live, can never be the question of most importance. To live freely, or die bravely, has been the resolution of our ancestors in all ages past; I hope it is the resolution of the present generation, I hope it will be the resolution of our posterity in all ages to come.

With regard to *Spain*, my Lords, if they do not give us immediate satisfaction, we are under an absolute necessity of declaring war, let who will take their part. The principal affair in dispute between them and us, is of such a nature, that even *France* will not, I believe, take their part; and I believe it, because it is neither her interest to do so, nor is she prepared for it. It is not the interest of *France* to establish those claims which the *Spaniards* have lately set up against us; because they may one day be made use of against *France* as well as against us. And suppose the *French* should mistake their interest, which they seldom do, what can they do against us? They can make use of nothing but a naval force against us, which they are at present unprovided with; and in case of an open war, we may take care they never shall. The *French* court may encourage the claims of *Spain*, whilst they are made to operate only against this nation; because every thing that is a discouragement to our trade, is an encouragement to that of *France*. They may even bully and hector, in order to make us submit as patiently to the claims of *Spain* for twenty years to come, as we have done for
twenty

‘ twenty years past; because, by such a submission,
‘ the trade of this kingdom would be very much
‘ lessened, and their trade as much advanced; but
‘ if we once begin to reassume our antient character,
‘ if we once resolve to vindicate the rights of our
‘ country, notwithstanding the unfortunate situa-
‘ tion the affairs of *Europe* are by some late mea-
‘ sures reduced to, yet, I believe, *France* will be
‘ extremely cautious of engaging in a war, for
‘ supporting *Spain* in claims which all the world
‘ must see to be unjust. Against this nation, their
‘ numerous land armies signify nothing, without
‘ a superior naval force, and that, they know, they
‘ neither have, nor could provide themselves with
‘ in time of war. The certain consequence of a
‘ war with this nation, would be a full stop to
‘ their trade, and if well conducted on our part,
‘ it might be attended with the ruin of most of
‘ their settlements in the *East* and *West-Indies*;
‘ which is a risk we can hardly suppose the *French*
‘ will run, for the sake of supporting *Spain*, in
‘ claims that may hereafter be made to operate a-
‘ gainst themselves. Besides this danger, whatever
‘ our own ministers may think, the *French* mini-
‘ sters know, that this nation has many natural and
‘ powerful allies upon the continent, and they like-
‘ wise know, that vigorous resolutions, vigorously
‘ and wisely executed, would reconcile to us those
‘ allies whom our late conduct has estranged from
‘ us. From all which, my Lords, I must be of
‘ opinion, that the danger of *France*’s engaging in
‘ the war, is not near so hideous as the dastardly
‘ imaginations of some people may represent. I
‘ am persuaded, they will not venture to ingage,
‘ unless they foresee, that the same spirit, which
‘ has rendered our peaceable measures ineffectual,
‘ may probably have such an influence, as to ren-
‘ der most of our warlike measures abortive.

‘ But, my Lords, if we do go to war, I hope
‘ the natural spirit of this nation will revive, I
‘ hope it will begin to exert itself; and if it does,
‘ I am sure it will get the better of every thing
‘ that can, of every man that dare oppose it. I
‘ must therefore think we have nothing to appre-
‘ hend, for this year at least, from *France*; and
‘ against *Spain* alone, we have no occasion to
‘ make a secret of our designs. We have now a
‘ fleet at sea, superior to any they can fit out
‘ against us: We have a number of troops to put
‘ on board, sufficient for attacking them in that
‘ part, where alone we ought to attack them.
‘ What then should hinder us from declaring war,
‘ the moment we find they despise us so much as
‘ to disregard every engagement they make with
‘ us? Why should we make an incroachment
‘ upon our constitution for the sake of concealing
‘ that resentment, which, the sooner it is mani-
‘ fested, the more it will tend to our honour? In
‘ less than a fortnight the chance of peace or war
‘ will be determined. If the court of *Spain* does
‘ not, in that time, comply with what they have
‘ so solemnly promised, it will be proper for his
‘ Majesty to come to his Parliament, and declare
‘ from the throne, that we must provide for war.
‘ The sending of such a message as this, at such
‘ a time, seems therefore to have been calculated
‘ by our ministers, for nothing else but to ren-
‘ der the sending of such messages familiar to the
‘ people, and the complying with them habitual
‘ to the Parliament.

‘ Our not complying with the last part of this
‘ message, can be attended with no bad conse-
‘ quence: We may comply with, and approve of
‘ the first, without taking notice of the last: We
‘ ought to comply with the first, because it is rea-
‘ sonable, and because we may do so without any
‘ breach of our constitution. It is a certain limited
‘ demand,

‘ demand, and such a demand as ought to be
‘ provided for by Parliament. Therefore I shall
‘ readily agree to the address of thanks proposed,
‘ so far as it relates to the first part of this mes-
‘ sage; but that address ought, I think, to be
‘ accompanied with another of a very different
‘ nature. However, as this is not the question
‘ now before us, I shall wave saying any thing
‘ upon it, till I see the fate of the present
‘ question.’

The last speech we shall give upon this sub-
ject, was that made by the Earl of *Chesterfield*,
who spoke to this effect.

‘ My Lords,

‘ As the first part of this message bears no re-
‘ semblance nor relation to the last, and as most
‘ Lords who have spoke upon the present question
‘ seem to approve of it, so far as it relates to the
‘ first part of the message now before us, I shall
‘ give your Lordships no trouble upon that head.
‘ But as to what is demanded by the last part of
‘ this message, your Lordships may call it a vote
‘ of credit, or a vote of confidence, or both, if
‘ you will: Let the demand be what it will, our
‘ complying with it will, in my opinion, be
‘ placing a much greater confidence in, and giving
‘ a larger credit to our present ministers, than any
‘ ministers ought, by our constitution, to be
‘ trusted with. I shall never be for giving to any
‘ ministers an unlimited power to raise what num-
‘ ber of troops, and what sums of money, they
‘ may think necessary; and upon this occasion
‘ I am the more against it, because of its being
‘ asked at such a critical conjuncture. We may,
‘ perhaps, be under some uncertainty at present:
‘ There may, perhaps, be at present a probability,
‘ that we shall soon be obliged to declare war
‘ against

Earl of
Chesterfield's
speech.

‘ against *Spain* ; but in a few days that uncertain-
 ‘ ty will be at an end, and that which some are
 ‘ now pleased to call a probability only, will, in my
 ‘ opinion, within a fortnight, become a certainty ;
 ‘ for if the 95,000*l.* be paid on the 24th of this
 ‘ month, we may look upon it as an earnest of
 ‘ peace, we may from thence conclude, that the
 ‘ *Spaniards* are at last resolved to do us justice ;
 ‘ in which case we can have no occasion for
 ‘ raising more troops, or larger sums of money,
 ‘ than have been already agreed to by Parliament,
 ‘ in a regular parliamentary method. On the
 ‘ other hand, if this sum of money be not paid
 ‘ upon the day appointed, I hope we shall at last
 ‘ have done with negotiation : I hope no man
 ‘ will imagine, we are to purchase another inef-
 ‘ fectual and collusive convention, at a new ex-
 ‘ pence of 4 or 500,000*l.* This session is, ’tis
 ‘ true, drawing towards a conclusion ; but there
 ‘ is no necessity for putting an end to it before the
 ‘ 24th of this month ; and if the Parliament be
 ‘ then sitting, and the money not paid by *Spain*,
 ‘ what should hinder us from providing for war,
 ‘ in that method which is most agreeable to our
 ‘ constitution ?

‘ This message therefore, my Lords, seems to
 ‘ me, to be designed for nothing but that of esta-
 ‘ blishing the custom of concluding each session
 ‘ of Parliament with a vote of credit and confi-
 ‘ dence, without the least necessity or occasion ;
 ‘ and this I cannot agree to, because I think it
 ‘ will be of the most dangerous consequence to
 ‘ our constitution. During the recess of Parlia-
 ‘ ment, the crown may have, by our constitution,
 ‘ a sort of dictatorial power ; but that power will
 ‘ become much more dangerous when founded
 ‘ upon the previous authority of Parliament. Our
 ‘ people have a sort of implicit faith in their Par-
 ‘ liaments, and will always be less jealous of the
 ‘ exercise

‘ exercise of any extraordinary power, when it is
‘ founded upon the authority of Parliament, than
‘ when it is founded upon an emergent necessity
‘ only. The dictatorial power was, upon many
‘ occasions, of great service to the *Romans*, and
‘ whilst it was kept within its antient bounds, it
‘ was never attended with any inconvenience or
‘ danger. It was originally limited to the term
‘ of six months at farthest, and was generally re-
‘ signed before that term expired; but the second
‘ man to whom it was granted for a longer term,
‘ put an end to the liberties of that Repub-
‘ lick.

‘ This shews, my Lords, how dangerous it is,
‘ in a free state, to depart in the least from any of
‘ those regulations, that were established by our
‘ ancestors, for limiting the power of our mi-
‘ nisters, which is always what is really meant,
‘ when we talk of the power or prerogative of
‘ the crown. Under those regulations we have
‘ lived happy, we have lived free, for many
‘ ages; but no one can tell what consequences
‘ the least departure may be attended with. It is
‘ allowed, that no vote of credit was ever grant-
‘ ed before the Revolution, therefore every such
‘ vote must be a departure from our antient con-
‘ stitution, and consequently must be dangerous;
‘ and every one will allow, that we ought not in
‘ prudence to expose ourselves to any danger,
‘ without an apparent necessity. If the crown
‘ has, during the recess of Parliament, a sort of
‘ dictatorial power, may it not be now as freely
‘ exercised, as it was before the Revolution? May
‘ it not in time to come be as sufficient for pro-
‘ tecting us against sudden and unforeseen dan-
‘ gers, as it has been for so many ages past? We
‘ are told, that the method of appropriation, in-
‘ troduced since the Revolution, makes this impos-
‘ sible. My Lords, let us but consider the state
‘ our

‘ our publick revenues were in before the Revolution, and we shall find there is nothing in this argument. Before the Restoration, the crown had no established revenue, but what was scarcely sufficient for supporting what we now call the civil list; and they had seldom any credit to borrow money from private hands, even upon the most pressing emergency. After the Restoration, indeed, we became a little more generous: A large publick revenue was settled upon the crown; but that revenue was appropriated as much as it is now, though not in so express terms. A part of it was allotted for supporting the civil list, another part for paying the few guards and garisons, that were then kept up, and a third part for supporting the navy. If any of these services had been neglected, and the money converted by our ministers to other uses, I believe the Parliament would have then been more ready to have inquired into, and punished such misapplication, than they have ever appeared to be since that time; and the crown had, after the Restoration, as well as before, but very little credit for borrowing money from private hands. During the recesses of Parliament, the crown had no resource against sudden emergencies, but that of making use of the little credit it had for borrowing money from private hands, or that of leaving the pensions and salaries of courtiers unpaid, and converting that money to the service of the nation. This made it always necessary for the crown to call a Parliament as soon as possible, and the Parliament re-placed what had been laid out for the publick service, if they approved of it, or they put a stop to the expence, if they disapproved of the service.

‘ Now, my Lords, let us consider our publick revenue, as it stands at present, by which

‘ I

‘ I mean the whole money raised yearly upon the
‘ people by the annual or perpetual grants of
‘ Parliament. It is now above three times as
‘ much as it ever was before the Revolution, and
‘ every shilling of it passes now through the
‘ fingers of our ministers, as well as it did then.
‘ One part of it is allotted for the support of the
‘ civil list, another part of it for paying our ar-
‘ mies and garisons abroad and at home, a third
‘ part of it for paying our seamen, and support-
‘ ing our navy, a fourth for paying the interest
‘ growing due yearly to our publick creditors,
‘ and a fifth for paying off yearly so much of the
‘ principal, when we can keep our ministers from
‘ laying hold of it for warlike preparations in
‘ peaceable times. These, my Lords, are the
‘ uses it is designed for, and to these it is appro-
‘ priated but in case of a sudden emergency, du-
‘ ring the recess of Parliament, what should hin-
‘ der our ministers from leaving the pensions and
‘ salaries of courtiers unpaid for a few months,
‘ and applying that money to the service of the
‘ nation? I believe the Parliament would be as
‘ ready to supply the deficiency thereby occasioned
‘ in the civil list, as ever they were to supply any
‘ pretended deficiency in that revenue: I am sure
‘ they would have more reason; and no man in
‘ the kingdom could find fault with our ministers,
‘ for advising the crown to apply to the safety of
‘ the nation, in a case of necessity, that which
‘ was particularly appropriated to the support of
‘ the crown. But if this should not be sufficient,
‘ what should hinder our ministers from contract-
‘ ing a small debt for the immediate safety of the
‘ nation? For that they may and do contract
‘ debts without any previous authority from Par-
‘ liament, the great navy debt lately paid off,
‘ the great navy debt still remaining due, and the
‘ many grants that have been made for making
‘ good

I

‘ good deficiencies in the civil list, are sufficient
‘ testimonies. Therefore, as the pensions and sa-
‘ laries paid out of the civil list now amount to a
‘ much larger sum, than they ever amounted to
‘ before the Revolution, and as the crown has
‘ now much more credit, both for contracting and
‘ running in debt, than it ever had before that
‘ time, I must conclude, that a vote of credit is
‘ now less necessary than it ever was, or could be,
‘ at any time before the Revolution.

‘ Thus, my Lords, it must appear, that such
‘ a vote of credit and confidence, as is now de-
‘ fired, is not only dangerous, but unnecessary;
‘ and no experience, no precedent can warrant
‘ our running ourselves into an unnecessary dan-
‘ ger. We are not in this house, nor any where
‘ else, to say, that his Majesty has ever put the
‘ nation to an unnecessary expence: It is, in my
‘ opinion, a failure in the respect due to our Sove-
‘ reign, to bring his name into any such question.
‘ But we may make a little more free with his mi-
‘ nisters; and that they have, upon some occa-
‘ sions, put the nation to an unnecessary expence,
‘ has been said in this house, and is now said in
‘ every corner of the kingdom; nor will it be
‘ said, I believe, by many persons in the king-
‘ dom, that they have regularly and strictly ac-
‘ counted for every shilling of the many millions
‘ that have passed through their hands, for these
‘ twenty years by-past. Therefore, if we judge
‘ from experience, we can have no great reason for
‘ giving them a power to run the nation as much
‘ in debt as they please. Such a power must al-
‘ ways be of the most dangerous nature; because
‘ the more they run the nation in debt, the more
‘ they may depend upon having that power renew-
‘ ed, the more secure will they be against being
‘ called to a strict account. Like the *Spanish* go-
‘ vernor, who, for his many oppressions and ex-
‘ tortions,

‘ tortions, was recalled from his command in *A-*
‘ *merica*, their security against punishment will de-
‘ pend upon their having been guilty of every
‘ crime, that is laid to their charge.

‘ But suppose, my Lords, there were no danger
‘ in our complying with every part of this message,
‘ and suppose there were a greater necessity for it
‘ than there seems to be at present; yet, when I
‘ consider to whom we are to give the extraordi-
‘ nary powers asked for, I cannot agree to it. I
‘ shall never agree to the nation’s giving an unli-
‘ mited credit to ministers, who, with me, never
‘ had any credit; nor can I give my consent to the
‘ nation’s putting so much confidence in a ministry,
‘ in which I never could put any confidence. My
‘ Lords, we have granted them such powers as
‘ this before now: We have never refused them
‘ any thing; and yet they have never so much as
‘ once deviated into what, I think, may be called
‘ right. But on the contrary, they have, in my
‘ opinion, prostituted the honour, sunk the reputa-
‘ tion, squandered the wealth, and almost ruined
‘ the trade of this nation. To me, my Lords,
‘ they seem to have been playing, for almost these
‘ twenty years, at a sort of game of hazard for
‘ peace or war, and at last, by a lucky nick, out-
‘ started a thing they call a convention, which is
‘ neither one nor t’other; but is to be made either
‘ the one or the other, they cannot yet tell which,
‘ if we will but grant them some extraordinary and
‘ unusual powers, for enabling them to continue
‘ their game. What their future success may be,
‘ I shall not now pretend to divine; but, I am sure,
‘ I shall never be for giving unlimited credit to
‘ such awkward gamesters.

‘ As for that of empowering his Majesty to aug-
‘ ment his forces: In case of a war, my Lords, he
‘ has no occasion for such a power: He may aug-
‘ ment his forces both by sea and land, without
‘ any

‘ any such power; and if there is to be no war, I
‘ I am sure, he ought not to augment them, and
‘ much less ought we to give our consent. Nay,
‘ I do not think we can give our consent in the
‘ method proposed. The consent of Parliament
‘ ought always to be understood to be by a law
‘ regularly passed, and agreed to by the three fe-
‘ veral branches of our legislature. It is upon this
‘ the security of our constitution depends, because
‘ it prevents surprize. Both houses of Parliament
‘ may be surprized into a vote of the most danger-
‘ ous nature, by our ministers taking advantage of
‘ an opportunity when there are few members in
‘ town, but such as they order to attend. Prece-
‘ dents, my Lords, are of an improving nature :
‘ If it should once be received as a maxim, that the
‘ Parliament may, by a vote, consent to an aug-
‘ mentation of our army in time of peace, that
‘ maxim may at last be extended to the altering,
‘ repealing, or making any law the crown may,
‘ by a message, please to desire; therefore, I can-
‘ not agree to what a noble Lord has been pleased
‘ to say in this debate, That the consent of Par-
‘ liament may be signified by a vote or resolution,
‘ in pursuance of a message from his Majesty, as
‘ well as by the preamble of a bill. I am far
‘ from contending with that noble Lord in law-
‘ learning or distinctions, but notwithstanding what
‘ he has said, I must look upon the present motion,
‘ if it be agreed to, as a repeal of the mutiny bill.
‘ I must suppose, that by the word, *whole*, in the
‘ preamble of that bill, we did not mean *a half*, or
‘ any number of *parts* : I must suppose, we there-
‘ by meant to limit the number of troops to 17704
‘ men; and as every clause in a bill must relate to
‘ the preamble, therefore, when there is a general
‘ limitation in the preamble of a bill, that limita-
‘ tion, without being repeated, must run through
‘ the whole, and must be supposed to be a limita-
‘ tion

‘ tion upon every clause; for which reason, I must
‘ be of opinion, that no clause in the mutiny bill
‘ we have already passed, can relate to, or com-
‘ prehend any number of troops above that which
‘ is mentioned in the preamble. Nay, I do not
‘ know, but that the raising and keeping up a
‘ greater number of men, may render the whole
‘ bill ineffectual, by making it impossible to deter-
‘ mine who are within, or who are without the
‘ enacting clauses of that bill.

‘ In my opinion, my Lords, it is a most dan-
‘ gerous doctrine, to pretend, that when a law is
‘ passed for keeping a certain limited number of
‘ troops in order, it must relate to, and compre-
‘ hend all the troops which our ministers may
‘ think fit to raise and keep up during the continu-
‘ ance of that law; because, in such a case, it may
‘ be made to serve for obliging our army to sub-
‘ due, instead of defending their country: And if
‘ it does not comprehend all the troops which our
‘ ministers may think fit to raise and keep up, we
‘ must allow, that it cannot be made to do so by
‘ a vote of either, or both houses of Parliament,
‘ unless we allow, that an act of Parliament can be
‘ altered or amended by a vote; and if it can be
‘ altered or amended, we must allow, that it may
‘ be repealed by the same method. Thus, by a-
‘ greeing to this message, we must establish a most
‘ dangerous, and, I think, a false doctrine, of the
‘ one side or the other.

‘ It signifies nothing, my Lords, to say, that
‘ by our complying with this message, no man is
‘ to be compelled to enter into his Majesty’s land-
‘ service: We know how ready young gentlemen
‘ are to accept of commissions in the army, and a
‘ great number of new officers will always get a
‘ great number of men to list voluntarily into the
‘ service. When commissions are granted, and
‘ orders for new levies issued, we are not to sup-
‘ pose,

‘ pose, that the officers, when they accept their
‘ commissions, will be told, that they are to be
‘ employed in subduing the liberties of their coun-
‘ try; nor are we to suppose, that the men, when
‘ they are prevailed on to list, will be told, that
‘ they are to fight against their country. Our
‘ warlike preparations will always, in such a case,
‘ be said to be intended against some neighbouring
‘ nation that has insulted and injured us, though
‘ our ministers be secretly resolved to submit to
‘ every indignity that can be put upon the nation
‘ by neighbouring powers, rather than be inter-
‘ rupted, by a foreign war, in the hostilities they
‘ are carrying on against the constitution and liber-
‘ ties of their country. By such a pretence, my
‘ Lords, many gentlemen may be induced to ac-
‘ cept of commissions, many private men may be
‘ induced to list as soldiers, with the honest and
‘ brave view of serving their country against its
‘ foreign enemies; but after they have once enter-
‘ ed into the service, they may, by our mutiny
‘ bill, thus interpreted, be compelled to serve a-
‘ gainst their country, by assisting its domestick
‘ and most dangerous enemies; for they cannot
‘ then leave the service, when they have a mind,
‘ nor can they safely refuse to obey any order they
‘ receive from their commanding officer; because
‘ the court martial is to determine, whether the
‘ order be lawful or not; and a court martial, cho-
‘ sen by a minister, will probably determine every
‘ command to be lawful, that proceeds from his
‘ authority, secret or revealed.

‘ Having now shewn, my Lords, that it is dan-
‘ gerous, unnecessary, and inconsistent with the
‘ bill already passed into a law, to comply with
‘ this message, I need not, I think, expatiate upon
‘ the consequences of our not complying with the
‘ latter part of it; for let those consequences be as
‘ dangerous as they will, I hope I have made it
‘ appear,

‘ appear, that it ought not to be complied with.
‘ But the consequences of our not complying with
‘ it, are so far from being dangerous, that, I think,
‘ it will be attended with great advantages. *Spain*,
‘ I am convinced, has no hopes from a war, if on
‘ our side it be wisely and vigorously prosecuted.
‘ Their only hopes, I believe, are founded upon
‘ the continuance of our present administration.
‘ They have by experience found, that our present
‘ ministers may be amused, and they hope to
‘ amuse them with negotiations for some years
‘ longer; or if they cannot amuse them with peace-
‘ able negotiations, they hope, that our warlike
‘ measures will be carried on in the same languid
‘ and ill-judged manner, our peaceful measures
‘ have been; in which case they may, like the
‘ terrier with the fox, by mere teasing, at last
‘ force us to accept of unequal and dishonourable
‘ terms. We can no way put an end to these
‘ hopes so effectually, as by shewing, that our
‘ Parliament is not under the absolute direction of
‘ our administration. If the *Spaniards* see, as they
‘ must see by our refusing to comply with this
‘ message, that the Parliament has seriously taken
‘ the state of the nation into consideration, and
‘ that we have resolved to be what we really are,
‘ his Majesty’s chief and supreme council, their
‘ flattering hopes will all vanish, and then they
‘ will of course comply with our just demands.
‘ The 95,000 *l.* will be paid upon the day appoint-
‘ ed, and all other disputes will soon be settled to
‘ the honour and advantage of this nation; so that
‘ if the 95,000 *l.* should not be paid, or if a war
‘ should ensue, I shall impute it to our complying
‘ with the message now before us.

‘ I am surprized, my Lords, to hear it said,
‘ that our refusing to comply with this message,
‘ would give the court of *Spain*, or any other
‘ court in *Europe*, cause to imagine, that there

' would be a breach between his Majesty and his
 ' Parliament. Can we suppose that court, or any
 ' court, so ignorant of our constitution, as not to
 ' distinguish between his Majesty and his ministers?
 ' Can we suppose them so ignorant of his Majesty's
 ' regard for our constitution, as to imagine, that
 ' he would espouse the cause of his ministers against
 ' his Parliament? God forbid! that any of his il-
 ' lustrious Family ever should, I am sure he never
 ' will; therefore, all the court of *Spain* could ex-
 ' pect from such a parliamentary contumacy as I
 ' am now pleading for, is, that it would produce
 ' a change of ministers; and from such a change,
 ' I am convinced, they can expect no advantage.
 ' If they saw but the least reason to suspect it, I
 ' am persuaded, they would be glad to comply,
 ' not only with what they have promised, but
 ' with every thing we could in justice demand. If
 ' an honourable peace, therefore, be a desirable
 ' thing, as it surely is, I must think our refusing
 ' to comply with this message, the most ready way
 ' to obtain it; and for this reason, among many
 ' others, I shall give my negative to the question.'

Division.

The question being at last put, the motion was
 agreed to upon a division, 72 contents, to 32 not
 contents; and the address presented by that house,
 in pursuance thereof, was as follows, *viz.*

Lords address
 upon it, and
 his Majesty's
 answer.

Most gracious Sovereign,

' WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal
 ' subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal
 ' in Parliament assembled, beg leave to express the
 ' grateful sense we have of your Majesty's royal
 ' care and attention for the peace and welfare of
 ' these kingdoms, and for preserving the publick
 ' tranquillity, and the balance of power in *Europe*.

' At the same time, permit us to return your
 ' Majesty our humble thanks, for having conclu-
 ' ded

‘ ded a treaty of defensive alliance with the King
 ‘ of *Denmark*, and for having ordered the same to
 ‘ be laid before us; and to assure your Majesty of
 ‘ our concurrence, and support, in making good
 ‘ the engagements which you have thereby entered
 ‘ into.

‘ We also beseech your Majesty, to accept the
 ‘ strongest assurances, that we will zealously and
 ‘ cheerfully support your Majesty in making such
 ‘ further augmentation of your forces, either by
 ‘ sea or land, as may become absolutely necessary,
 ‘ by reason of any emergency, arising from the
 ‘ present posture of affairs in *Europe*, which may
 ‘ nearly concern the honour, interest, and safety of
 ‘ these kingdoms; and in concerting such measures
 ‘ as the exigency of affairs may require.’

To which his Majesty returned the following answer.

My Lords,

I Take this address as a real mark of your zeal and affection for my person and government. You may depend upon it, that the confidence which you repose in me shall be made use of with the strictest regard to the true interest of my people.

May 25th, the house of Commons passed, and sent to the house of Lords, a bill for granting to his Majesty the sum of 500,000 *l.* out of the sinking fund, for the service of the year 1739; and for enabling his Majesty to raise the further sum of 500,000 *l.* out of the growing produce of the said fund; and for the further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of Parliament, &c. Amongst the other appropriation clauses, there was one in this bill for applying 60,000 *l.* towards making good the losses of our merchants by the *Spanish* depredations, because that sum had, by the convention,

Bill for appropriating the 60,000 *l.* due to *Spain* by the convention.

tion, been allowed to *Spain*, in consideration of their ships destroyed by us in 1718. Therefore, when this bill was read a second time in the house of Lords, which was upon the 31st of the same month, by an order made upon the motion of the Lord *Bathurst*, the house being summoned for that purpose, his Lordship stood up, and spoke to this effect:

Lord *Bathurst's*
speech and
motion.

‘ My Lords,
‘ The time is now expired, that was stipulated
‘ by the convention, for the payment of the
‘ 95,000*l.* and we have now before us a bill, by
‘ which his Majesty is enabled to pay 60,000*l.*
‘ towards the discharge of a debt owing to the
‘ crown of *Spain*. As we are so very punctual in
‘ fulfilling our engagements to that crown, I think,
‘ it would be highly worthy of this house, to ad-
‘ dress his Majesty, to know if that crown has ful-
‘ filled any part of her engagements to us. There-
‘ fore, I hope, your Lordships will pardon me, if
‘ I take the liberty to move,

‘ That an humble address be presented to his
‘ Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to
‘ acquaint this house, whether or not the sum of
‘ 95,000*l.* stipulated by the late convention, on
‘ the part of *Spain*, to be paid in consideration of
‘ the damages sustained by his Majesty’s trading
‘ subjects in *America*, is yet paid; and, if it is not
‘ paid, that his Majesty would be graciously plea-
‘ sed to inform the house, what reasons have been
‘ given, on the part of that crown, for the non-
‘ payment.’

The Duke of *Newcastle* spoke next, as follows.

Duke of
Newcastle's
speech.

‘ My Lords,
‘ It was natural to foresee, that a motion of this
‘ kind would be made. Therefore, I have leave
‘ from

‘ from his Majesty to acquaint the house, that the
 ‘ said sum is not paid, and that no reasons have as
 ‘ yet been given on the part of *Spain*, for the non-
 ‘ payment.’

The Earl of *Aylesford* spoke next to the following purpose.

‘ My Lords,

‘ It is very surprizing, that any Lord should
 ‘ take upon him to bar the access of this house to
 ‘ his Majesty, and, I think that this answer is by
 ‘ no means parliamentary. The noble Duke said he
 ‘ has leave to acquaint the house, so and so—How
 ‘ could his Grace know what motion was to be
 ‘ made in this house? And if he did know, is it
 ‘ not a very great proof of the noble Duke’s cou-
 ‘ rage, to take upon him to step betwixt his Ma-
 ‘ jesty and his great council, and return a verbal
 ‘ answer to an address, before it has been presented,
 ‘ even before it has been agreed to? My Lords,
 ‘ how will this be looked on without doors? May
 ‘ it not be very justly thought, that this answer is
 ‘ calculated to exclude from his Majesty’s presence
 ‘ all those who had the honour to vote against the
 ‘ convention?’

Earl of
Aylesford’s
speech.

The Duke of *Newcastle* replied, to the following effect.

‘ My Lords,

‘ I thought I was doing the house a piece of
 ‘ service, in saving time thus late in the session.
 ‘ The answer I have given, is the very same that
 ‘ the house will receive if the address should be
 ‘ presented.

Duke of
Newcastle’s
answer.

‘ But, my Lords, I have another reason for op-
 ‘ posing this motion, and that is, because it is by
 ‘ no means parliamentary. The motion is for an
 ‘ address,

‘ address, That his Majesty would be graciously
 ‘ pleased to acquaint the house; whereas, all ad-
 ‘ dresses of that kind, are, That his Majesty
 ‘ would order the secretary of state, or the pro-
 ‘ per officer, to lay before the house the papers
 ‘ that may be necessary for our information in
 ‘ such cases. Now, my Lords, this is the very
 ‘ thing his Majesty has done. There are no pa-
 ‘ pers, indeed, to be laid before the house on this
 ‘ occasion, but he has ordered me, who have the
 ‘ honour to be a secretary of state, to return the
 ‘ house the same answer that would have been re-
 ‘ turned, if the address had been presented.

‘ As to my intention of precluding the noble
 ‘ Lords from having access to his Majesty, I do
 ‘ aver, my Lords, that I am so far from having
 ‘ any such intention, that nothing would give me
 ‘ greater pleasure, than to see the noble Lords,
 ‘ who voted against the convention, more assidu-
 ‘ ous than they are, in paying their duty per-
 ‘ sonally to his Majesty. Therefore, my Lords,
 ‘ I hope this motion will be thought improper;
 ‘ and the rather, because the term stipulated for
 ‘ the payment has been but a very few days elap-
 ‘ sed, and it would be rash to come to any reso-
 ‘ lutions on this head, (which we must do, if the
 ‘ address should be presented) without having a
 ‘ little farther patience.’

The Duke of *Argyle* spoke in the same debate,
 in substance as follows.

‘ My Lords,

Duke of
Argyle's
 speech.

‘ It is now high time for us to lay aside using
 ‘ the medium of ministers, in presenting addresses,
 ‘ or receiving answers from the crown. We
 ‘ ought now, my Lords, to inform his Majesty
 ‘ ourselves, of things that the ministry appear to
 ‘ have neglected. It was foretold again and again
 ‘ in

‘ in this house, that this money never would be
‘ paid, and the whole merit of the convention
‘ was to stand or fall by the behaviour of the
‘ court of *Spain* in that respect. Now it appears
‘ that the money is not paid. What is to be
‘ done? Shall we again trust to ministers, who,
‘ it is evident have mis-informed his Majesty in
‘ every step of this affair? No. Let us apply to
‘ the crown ourselves; his Majesty’s known ten-
‘ der regard to the rights of his subjects leaves us
‘ no room to doubt of obtaining redress. I must
‘ take notice of somewhat said by the noble Duke
‘ who spoke last: He thought it was always
‘ customary for the crown to return its answers to
‘ this house by the ministers. It may be the
‘ custom, my Lords, but this house has sometimes
‘ been so dissatisfied with such a proceeding, that
‘ we have addressed the crown to know by whose
‘ advice such an answer was given. If the ad-
‘ dress now moved for, could be answer’d by any
‘ papers to be laid before us, we had no occasion
‘ to address, we needed but have appointed a
‘ committee, with the power that committees
‘ commonly have, of sending for papers, records,
‘ or persons, as they think fit. But, my Lords,
‘ it is not so much for information, that we ought
‘ to agree to this address; we ought to agree to
‘ it, in order to open a communication betwixt
‘ his Majesty and his great council, without inter-
‘ vention of a minister.

‘ The word *minister*, my Lords, has been very
‘ much misunderstood of late. It has an *English*
‘ and a *French* signification. In the *English* sense,
‘ my Lords, it signifies a servant of the Parlia-
‘ ment, a servant of the people, as well as of the
‘ crown; and this house has formerly understood
‘ ministers to be under their immediate direction.
‘ We have an instance of it in the reign of King
‘ *Charles II.* when upon a complaint of a breach

‘ of

‘ of privilege to this house, the offending party
 ‘ fled to *Holland*: What did this house do, my
 ‘ Lords? It ordered, by its own authority, the
 ‘ secretary of state to write to *Holland*, and re-
 ‘ claim the offender.

‘ The *French* sense of the word *minister*, my
 ‘ Lords, [*Maire de Palais*] is, one who acts in
 ‘ place of the King; one who is accountable
 ‘ to none but the King, let him be guilty of
 ‘ never so many miscarriages or mismanage-
 ‘ ments. I am sorry to see it, but we seem
 ‘ of late to have adopted this last sense of the
 ‘ word. Ministers of *Great Britain* seem to be
 ‘ as absolute as they are in *France*. But, my
 ‘ Lords, I hope your Lordships will assert the
 ‘ dignity of this house, and agree to this ad-
 ‘ dress.’

The question being then put, it was carried
 against addressing by 51 to 38.

State of the
 nation order-
 ed to be ta-
 ken into con-
 sideration.

As soon as the division was over, the Lord
Carteret stood up and said, That by the question’s
 passing in the negative, he must suppose, that
 their Lordships look’d upon the information given
 them by the noble Duke, as a parliamentary sort
 of information, that the said sum of 95,000*l.*
 was not paid by the court of *Spain*, nor any rea-
 sons given for the non-payment; from whence he
 thought he had, what their Lordships had deter-
 mined to be, a parliamentary foundation to build
 on, and therefore he would take the liberty to
 move, That the house should, upon that day
 seven-night, resolve itself into a committee of the
 whole house for taking the state of the nation
 into their consideration; and the house for that
 purpose to be summoned.

These

These motions being agreed to, his Lordship, accordingly, on the seventh of *June*, spoke to the following effect.

‘ My Lords,

‘ We are now met to consider of the state of the nation, a state more fit for meditation than discourse; a state whereof none of our forefathers has seen the parallel, and which requires all your Lordships attention to prevent our posterity from feeling its consequences.

Lord Carteret's speech upon it.

‘ As your Lordships have already found, that the obligations which *Spain* had entered into by the late convention, are on her part unfulfilled, the house, I hope, will pardon me, if I now treat that measure as no longer existing, and lay before your Lordships a detail of what prudence, honour, and a just regard for the interest of this nation, ought to have dictated to those, who negotiated that convention, as the proper measures to be pursued, instead of that ruinous treaty.

‘ Give me leave, therefore, my Lords, to say, that after the refusal, on the part of *Spain*, to give up the point of *no search*, our ministry shewed a disrespect to the sentiments of this house, in any longer continuing their negotiations with that court. His Majesty, the nation, and all the world must have acquitted them, if, on such a refusal, they had no longer looked on the differences with *Spain*, as the cause of the ministry, but of the Parliament; they ought then to have appealed to Parliament for justice, and we, my Lords, must have supported them, because the discontinuance of their negotiations was but the necessary consequence of our own advice to his Majesty. The breach of the convention on the part of *Spain*, my

‘ my Lords, regains us that opportunity, which
‘ we are now to improve, in the same manner as
‘ if the convention had never been made.

‘ We must therefore, my Lords, now have
‘ recourse to arms; and, I believe, I need not
‘ suggest to your Lordships, that the sea is the
‘ only element where our quarrel can be decided,
‘ as it is the element on which it began. This,
‘ my Lords, was easy to have been foreseen by
‘ our ministry, even before the convention was
‘ concluded. But now, my Lords, as *Spain* has
‘ wounded the honour of the crown, and people
‘ of *Great Britain*, by adding a breach of that
‘ convention to other insults and injuries, we
‘ ought to proceed after a more vigorous manner,
‘ than might have been necessary before the con-
‘ vention was concluded. We ought not now so
‘ much as to mention reprisals by our merchants.
‘ Reprisals by merchants, my Lords, to a lit-
‘ tle State is pernicious, and to a great one dis-
‘ honourable. As the insult has been offered to
‘ his Majesty, his Majesty’s ships ought to make
‘ reprisals; therefore, I was surprized when I
‘ heard it mentioned without doors, on this occa-
‘ sion, that the ministry had offered reprisals to
‘ merchant-men and private persons. If the royal
‘ navy of *Great Britain* does not act now, we
‘ may despair of ever seeing it act; for, my
‘ Lords, if all the circumstances of the last in-
‘ sult, which *Spain* has offered to the nation, are
‘ considered, we perhaps shall not find the like
‘ recorded in history. She has now her ships
‘ ready to sail for the *West-Indies*; she has other
‘ ships, the property of which belongs all to her-
‘ self, on their voyage homewards; yet she holds
‘ us so much in contempt, that though she could
‘ get the one sent out, and the other brought
‘ home with safety, by paying this paltry sum of
‘ 95,000*l.* she refuses to do it. Is not this, my
‘ Lords,

‘ Lords, telling us that she will treat no longer ;
 ‘ that we dare not resent whatever affront she
 ‘ gives us ; and that she will risk all the effects,
 ‘ all the trade she has at sea, rather than fulfil one
 ‘ article of her engagements ?

‘ As this, my Lords, is evidently the state of
 ‘ this nation, with regard to *Spain*, I shall beg
 ‘ leave to make a motion to your Lordships,
 ‘ which I intend as an introduction to some
 ‘ others that may follow, if your Lordships
 ‘ shall think fit to agree to what I am now to
 ‘ propose.

‘ I, therefore, humbly move your Lordships,
 ‘ to resolve, That the non-payment of the
 ‘ 95,000*l.* agreed by treaty to be due from the
 ‘ crown of *Spain*, as a balance to the crown and
 ‘ subjects of *Great Britain*, and expressly stipu-
 ‘ lated to be paid in *London*, within four months
 ‘ after the exchanging of the ratifications, which
 ‘ time is now expired, is a manifest infraction,
 ‘ on the part of *Spain*, of the convention lately
 ‘ concluded between the two crowns, an high
 ‘ indignity to his Majesty, and an injustice to
 ‘ the nation.’

The Earl of *Halifax* spoke next to the follow-
 ing effect :

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ Could I be persuaded that the same conduct, Earl of *Halifax*'s speech.
 ‘ which has sunk the nation to that degree of
 ‘ contempt, which the noble Lord has just men-
 ‘ tioned, could regain her honour, and assert her
 ‘ dignity, I should not have troubled your Lord-
 ‘ ships on this occasion. But, my Lords, con-
 ‘ vinced as I am, that a continuance of the same
 ‘ conduct will, if possible, sink us still lower in
 ‘ the eyes of every nation in *Europe*, I cannot
 ‘ help taking this opportunity of expressing my
 ‘ concurrence

‘ concurrence with the motion made by the noble
 ‘ Lord. I do it, my Lords, from no disrespect
 ‘ to the persons of those who have the honour to
 ‘ be employed by his Majesty ; far less do I mean
 ‘ to reflect on any noble Lord here. I have the
 ‘ greatest personal regard for many of the noble
 ‘ Lords whom I see, and who I know have had
 ‘ the honour to advise his Majesty ; but, my
 ‘ Lords, as I am persuaded they acted to the best
 ‘ of their knowledge, I hope I shall be pardoned
 ‘ if I act to the best of mine, and declare to
 ‘ your Lordships, that my sincere opinion is, that
 ‘ it is now high time for this house to speak the
 ‘ sense of the nation, and endeavour to regain
 ‘ by our arms, what we have lost by our
 ‘ counsels.’

The Duke of *Newcastle* spoke next in substance as follows:

Duke of
Newcastle's
speech.

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ The noble Lord who spoke last, has delivered
 ‘ himself with so much decency, that I am
 ‘ sorry I am obliged to differ from his Lordship
 ‘ as to the fitness of the present motion. The
 ‘ fact, my Lords, contained in the motion, is
 ‘ what I shall be far from denying ; I readily
 ‘ own, that *Spain* has behaved in a most scandalous,
 ‘ unaccountable manner to this kingdom,
 ‘ and that she merits the severest chastisement of
 ‘ our arms. But, my Lords, give me leave to
 ‘ observe, that it is not *Spain* alone whom we are
 ‘ to consider in the present question ; had we to
 ‘ do with her only, we could soon bring her to
 ‘ reason. But, my Lords, who can answer for
 ‘ the part that a neighbouring power, greater
 ‘ than *Spain*, may take in this quarrel ? I don’t
 ‘ mean that we are tamely to put up with affronts
 ‘ and losses for fear of this neighbouring
 ‘ power ;

‘ power; I only think it is highly worthy your
 ‘ Lordships deliberation, to consider how far it is
 ‘ proper to put both that power and *Spain* upon
 ‘ their guard, by our coming to a resolution that
 ‘ must inevitably produce an address to his Ma-
 ‘ jesty for an immediate declaration of war. What
 ‘ makes this consideration, my Lords, the more
 ‘ necessary at present, is, that the nation is at this
 ‘ juncture unprovided to make head against these
 ‘ two powers. Let us once, my Lords, put
 ‘ ourselves in a condition to strike a blow, and
 ‘ then we may strike it surely and safely. But by
 ‘ coming to this resolution we give our enemies
 ‘ warning, we put them on their guard, which
 ‘ may be the means of our miscarrying.

‘ My Lords, I look upon the convention in a
 ‘ different light from the noble Lord who made
 ‘ the motion, and though I did not think that it
 ‘ was a good measure, as I sincerely do, I think
 ‘ myself obliged to treat it with some decency,
 ‘ because it was approved by this house. How-
 ‘ ever, my Lords, as I have no objection to the
 ‘ facts contained in this motion, but only to the
 ‘ prudence of our agreeing to it at this juncture,
 ‘ I humbly move that the previous question may
 ‘ be put.’

The Earl of *Strafford* spoke next, and was of opinion that the question should be put upon the motion; but the Lord Chancellor saying that any Peer might move for a previous question, the house seemed to acquiesce in his opinion, and the Earl of *Chesterfield* spoke next in substance as follows:

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ I shall deliver myself to your Lordships in
 ‘ the same manner as if the question itself were
 ‘ put,

Earl of *Chesterfield*'s
speech.

‘ put, lest I should not have another opportunity
‘ of speaking on this subject.

‘ The state of this nation, my Lords, is a very
‘ complicated subject, and requires that we should
‘ look farther back than the present juncture. Our
‘ melancholy situation is owing to a series of mis-
‘ conduct for many years past. This nation has
‘ paid immense sums towards the support of the
‘ government, without receiving the least advan-
‘ tage in return. Are our manufactures improved?
‘ Is our trade extended? Have the arts of peace
‘ been cultivated among us, during the long ex-
‘ pensive peace we have enjoyed? No! they are
‘ all visibly gone to decay. Have we suffered
‘ these to go to decay, in order to reduce a formi-
‘ dable enemy, or to quell domestick insurrections?
‘ No! our enemies are more insolent and powerful
‘ than ever, and domestick insurrections we have
‘ had none. Even at this instant, my Lords, *Spain*
‘ continues her depredations with more violence
‘ than ever, and yet the people of these nations
‘ are willing to contribute their last shilling, to en-
‘ able the government to support its own honour.
‘ This last insult, my Lords, we have received
‘ from *Spain*, is of a piece with the rest of her
‘ conduct, for these twenty years past. What
‘ could we expect after submitting to the terms of
‘ the convention, after submitting to reduce the
‘ demands of our merchants very near one half,
‘ after submitting to accept of their infamous pro-
‘ test, and after submitting to deduct 45,000*l.*
‘ for the prompt payment of what will never be
‘ paid?

‘ The noble Duke has told us, that we don’t
‘ know what part a neighbouring power may take,
‘ if we should proceed to violent measures. Let
‘ her take what part she will, my Lords, we can
‘ be in no worse situation than we are. But what
‘ part can she take? She cannot look us in the face

‘ at

at sea; she cannot prevent our seizing the *Spanish*
plate-fleet; she cannot reclaim one farthing of
the effects, if we should seize them, because they
are all entered in *Spanish* names; and therefore it
will become our lawful prize. But, says the no-
ble Duke, We are not yet ready. What! not
ready, my Lords, at this time of day? Whose
fault is that? Has the government been refused
any thing it has asked to strengthen his Majesty's
hands? or has any thing happened that was not
both foreseen and foretold? I remember, my
Lords, it was foretold that this money never
would be paid; and what was the answer? It
was insisted on, that we were so formidable, that
Spain never would dare to refuse to pay it. The
whole merit of the convention was put on that
single point. Can you doubt, said they, that
Spain has disavowed her depredations, when
here she pays damages for them? *Habetis confi-*
tentem reum: Sure she'll never pretend to insult
us for the future. But, my Lords, we see she
has not only not paid it, but holds us so much
in contempt, that she won't so much as give
a reason for her refusal. By this, my Lords,
she has given the lye to every argument advan-
ced in favour of the convention, and I hope we
shall not act so far below the dignity of this
house, as to refuse to put a question upon a fact
that is on all hands acknowledged to be true.
This, my Lords, would give every foreign pow-
er, and every man in the nation without doors,
a more contemptible opinion of us, than they
have ever yet had of the ministry. Let us there-
fore, my Lords, as a noble Lord said, with a
spirit worthy of the blood and name he bears,
for once speak the sense of the nation, and en-
deavour to regain by our arms, what we have
lost by our counsels. Let us lay before his Ma-
jesty the true state of the nation, that he may no
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‘ longer be imposed upon by those who have so
 ‘ notoriously betrayed her interest, and disregarded
 ‘ his honour.’

The Earl of *Cholmondeley*, spoke next to the following effect.

Earl of *Cholmondeley*'s
 speech.

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ If I thought that our putting the main ques-
 ‘ tion could be of any service, either to his Ma-
 ‘ jesty, or the nation, no Lord should more readily
 ‘ agree to it than myself. But as I am persuaded
 ‘ that it might be a detriment to both, and could
 ‘ in no event be of any advantage to either, I must
 ‘ beg leave to be against it. The noble Lord, who
 ‘ spoke first, said very rightly, that *Spain*, by not
 ‘ complying with the payment of the 95,000 *l.*
 ‘ had forfeited a great many advantages of much
 ‘ superior consideration, which she might have
 ‘ had if she had paid it. My Lords, this is one
 ‘ reason, to me, for thinking that *Spain* is not so
 ‘ unprovided of alliances and forces as we flatter
 ‘ ourselves, otherwise she would never have done
 ‘ so impolitick, so unjust a thing. And, my Lords,
 ‘ give me leave to say, that if we should attack
 ‘ the *Spanish* plate-fleet, *Spain* would be the least
 ‘ sufferer, the loss must come upon us and our
 ‘ allies, so that all we should gain must be the ill-
 ‘ will of our neighbours, and the ruin of our mer-
 ‘ chants. A noble Lord who spoke in the debate
 ‘ said, that we were to consider all the effects in
 ‘ that fleet, if seized, as lawful prize, because en-
 ‘ tered in *Spanish* names. They are so, my Lords,
 ‘ but we know it has been always understood, that
 ‘ so much of these effects as belonged to other na-
 ‘ tions, have been as much their own property, as
 ‘ if they had been actually entered in their own
 ‘ names, and that before now they have been both
 ‘ reclaimed and restored as such. Therefore, my
 ‘ Lords,

‘ Lords, as I see no good that can attend our putting the main question, I hope your Lordships will agree to our putting the previous question.’

The Lord *Bathurst* spoke next to the following purpose :

‘ My Lords,

‘ I own that I am for our going upon the main question, because, if we longer defer entering in-
‘ to vigorous measures, we may lose an opportunity we never can regain. We have trifled too long with *Spain*, and if we should trifle longer, the generous resentment of this nation may wear off; People will begin to think that they are forever to suffer, and instead of blaming *Spain* they may blame us. For my own part, my Lords, I wish to see something done towards retrieving the honour of this nation, while I myself, if there were occasion, might be able to bear a part in the service of my country, before I am render’d unable to do any more than to sit down in a great chair and bewail her calamities. This, my Lords, may be the case of every Lord in this house, who shall have the misfortune to live, and to see the event of our differences with *Spain*, if things are managed as they have been for some years past.

Lord Bathurst's speech.

‘ Many circumstances, my Lords, concur to render this a fit opportunity of making war upon that insulting power. We have now Generals, we have Admirals alive, who have seen the face of danger, who have formerly helped to reduce the power of that nation which now dictates the counsels of *Spain*. The *Spaniards* themselves, my Lords, are in no condition to resist us: In *Old Spain* a barren year has reduced the inhabitants to the utmost misery; the court itself is obliged to retrench its expences, in pensions and

O 2 ‘ salaries.

‘ salaries. I wish we were so wise as to follow
 ‘ their example in this. In *America* their subjects
 ‘ would be glad of a change in government, so
 ‘ intolerable is the oppression of their governors,
 ‘ who are generally the hungry, needy country-
 ‘ men of the Queen, who sends them over to fleece
 ‘ the people. For some time, my Lords, after the
 ‘ conquest of *New Spain*, every *Spaniard* was qua-
 ‘ lified to be a governor there; but afterwards the
 ‘ court grew jealous, and would suffer only natives
 ‘ of *Old Spain* to be appointed governors; at last,
 ‘ only natives of the antient kingdom were to have
 ‘ that important trust. Since the Queen has had
 ‘ so much sway in the management of affairs of
 ‘ state, the governors in *America* are generally *I-*
 ‘ *talians*. In short, my Lords, the whole *Spanish*
 ‘ monarchy is now managed by a faction. Shall
 ‘ we be afraid of a people governed by a faction?
 ‘ Or, my Lords, if we were governed by a faction,
 ‘ would any people in the world be afraid of us?
 ‘ Therefore, my Lords, I hope your Lordships
 ‘ will put the main question, and convince *Spain*
 ‘ and all *Europe*, how dangerous it is for any nation
 ‘ to insult the honour of this kingdom.’

Lord Her-
 vey's speech.

The Lord *Hervey* observed next, ‘ That the
 ‘ complaints made against the convention were
 ‘ apparently groundless. For if it had been a bad
 ‘ measure for the nation, the *Spaniards* would cer-
 ‘ tainly have fulfilled it; but as it was for the ad-
 ‘ vantage of the nation, they had repented, and
 ‘ refused to fulfil it.’

The Lord *Lonsdale* spoke next to the following
 effect:

Lord Lonf-
 dale's speech.

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ I should be glad to suggest any thing that
 ‘ might reconcile the different opinions of the no-
 ‘ ble

' ble Lords who have spoken in this debate. I
 ' own, my Lords, I am for putting the main ques-
 ' tion, but not as it stands. I see no reason for
 ' our declaring the non-payment of the 95,000*l.*
 ' to be an indignity to the King, and an injustice
 ' to the nation. I think the motion would do
 ' better if it wanted these words, and my reasons
 ' are these: By the *American* treaty betwixt us and
 ' *Spain*, *either nation is at liberty to use letters of*
 ' *reprisals, or other methods of obtaining satisfaction,*
 ' *if justice is either absolutely deny'd, or unreasonably*
 ' *delay'd by the other.* Now, my Lords, as the
 ' convention is unfulfilled on the part of *Spain*,
 ' and as one end of the convention was to obtain
 ' justice to the merchants of this nation, it necessa-
 ' rily follows, that that justice is absolutely deny'd.
 ' Therefore we are to look upon ourselves in the
 ' same situation we were in before the convention
 ' was concluded, and ought to proceed in the same
 ' manner as if it never had existed. If it never
 ' had existed, my Lords, we must have had re-
 ' course to that article; we ought to do so now,
 ' and if we do, we act strictly up to the sense of
 ' treaties; we deprive *Spain* of all pretences for
 ' calling in her allies to her aid, and we expose her
 ' injustice while we are chastising her insolence. If
 ' she should go to war upon this, then she is the
 ' aggressor, and all *Europe* will acquit us of any
 ' ambitious views upon her trade, or intention to
 ' disturb the common tranquillity. I will make
 ' no motion upon this, my Lords, but I humbly
 ' apprehend that the question would stand better if
 ' it wanted these last words.'

The Lord Chancellor spoke next, in substance as follows:

' My Lords,
 ' When I hear a resolution of this kind mov'd

O 3

Lord Chan-
 cellor's
 ' for speech.

‘ for in this house, I not only consider the matter
 ‘ of the resolution proposed, but I take, as far as
 ‘ I am able, under my view, all that is consequent
 ‘ upon, or connected with it. This resolution con-
 ‘ tains, my Lords, indeed, an undisputed fact; but
 ‘ when I consider that it must be attended with
 ‘ another question, as the noble Lord who made
 ‘ the motion insinuated, I consider the consequence
 ‘ of that question. This, my Lords, must produce
 ‘ an address to his Majesty for an immediate decla-
 ‘ ration of war. An immediate declaration of war,
 ‘ my Lords, at this time, I apprehend would be
 ‘ very impolitick in us. We might put *Spain* upon
 ‘ her guard by such a measure, and deprive ourselves
 ‘ of many advantages we might have by falling up-
 ‘ on her without giving her any such notice. Be-
 ‘ sides, my Lords, the effects of all our merchants
 ‘ in the *Spanish* dominions must fall into the hands
 ‘ of that court, if we declare war at this juncture.
 ‘ But, my Lords, I am by no means for putting the
 ‘ war longer off. I agree with the noble Lord who
 ‘ made the motion, that the state of the nation is
 ‘ more proper for meditation than discourse; I will
 ‘ go farther, my Lords, and say, that it is more
 ‘ proper for meditation and action too than discourse.
 ‘ I am for entering upon action immediately, and
 ‘ that we may do it more successfully, I think we
 ‘ ought to enter into no measures that may put our
 ‘ enemies upon their guard. I hope therefore your
 ‘ Lordships will agree to the putting the previous
 ‘ question.’

The Duke of *Argyle* spoke next, and among other things said,

‘ My Lords,

Duke of
Argyle's
speech,

‘ I believe it was never before known, that every
 ‘ Lord of this house owned a matter of fact to be
 ‘ true in a debate, and yet refused to own it upon
 ‘ the

‘ the question. This, my Lords, looks very mysterious, and I don’t love mysteries. When people follow mysteries, they are apt to fall into bigotry. I am, my Lords, for our treading in the plain road of truth, nor can I see the least inconveniency that can ensue, if we should put the main question. Shall it be said, my Lords, that this house was afraid to speak the truth? What power on earth should we be afraid of, while we have a just cause, a gracious Sovereign, and a brave people to support us?

‘ The noble Lord who spoke last supposed, that if we did not declare war we might attack *Spain* unprovided. My Lords, if I were to give a man a blow with a cudgel behind his back, is it to be supposed that this man, if he resented the blow, immediately could take me unprovided, unless he look’d upon me, my Lords, as a downright fool? Is he not to expect that after giving him such an affront I will be as ready with my sword as he can be with his? The case, my Lords, is exactly the same betwixt us and *Spain*. She has insulted us to the last degree, she has wronged us, she has broken her faith with us, and as she has done that, are we to expect to steal a satisfaction of her by her being unprepared? I wish with all my heart, my Lords, she may be unprepared; but whether she is or not, our agreeing to this resolution can be of no service to her, and our not agreeing to it may be a very great discouragement to every man who wishes well to his Majesty’s person and government. Therefore I hope the main question will be put.’

The Earl of *Scarborough* spoke to this effect:

‘ My Lords,

‘ The part I have all along acted in this affair leaves, I hope, no room to doubt of my impartiality.

Earl of
Scarborough’s
speech.

‘ tiality. Your Lordships may remember that I
‘ was for the address in the beginning of the session,
‘ because I thought it a piece of personal respect
‘ due to his Majesty. When the convention came
‘ to be considered, I opposed it, as I shall do every
‘ thing that I think contrary to the honour and
‘ interest of my Sovereign and my country. My
‘ Lords, as this consideration has ever prevailed
‘ with me, preferably to any ministerial attachment,
‘ so I have never yet been sway’d by the motives
‘ of any party or opposition to give my voice
‘ against the measures of the ministry, when I
‘ thought they tended to the good of my country.
‘ Therefore, my Lords, I flatter myself that your
‘ Lordships will look upon what I am now to say
‘ as the dictates of an unprejudiced heart, uninflu-
‘ enced by hopes, and unawed by fears. I have,
‘ my Lords, given all the attention I was capable
‘ of giving to the present debate; I came into the
‘ house undetermined how to vote in this question;
‘ but resolved to vote on that side which should
‘ appear to me, on the debate, to be most reason-
‘ able: And, my Lords, with so equal, so unpre-
‘ judiced a mind have I heard this debate, that (I
‘ don’t know if I ought to tell it) since I came in-
‘ to this house, I have changed my sentiments
‘ three or four times. Before the noble Lord who
‘ spoke last rose up, I was quite at a loss on which
‘ side to give my voice; but what his Lordship
‘ said has at last determined me.

‘ The affair we are now upon, my Lords, may
‘ be resolved into this alternative, Whether it is
‘ most prudent for us to agree to a resolution which
‘ must produce an address for a war, or depend on
‘ the ministry’s taking the proper measures? My
‘ Lords, if we agree to the former proposition, we
‘ may hurry the ministry too much; and if the
‘ nation does not receive that satisfaction she ex-
‘ pects, we may give them too good a pretext for
‘ excusing

‘ excusing themselves, by saying, the affair was
‘ taken out of their hands, — the measures they
‘ had laid down were rendered ineffectual by the
‘ interposition of other counsels. My Lords, I am
‘ for taking from them all pretexts of this kind,
‘ by devolving all upon them. The noble Lord
‘ who spoke last, and who not only knows as
‘ much, but has as good a foresight, as any Lord
‘ in this house, has declared enough to satisfy me.
‘ His Lordship said, that the present was a time
‘ *more fit for meditation and action too than for dis-*
‘ *course.* What stronger assurances can your Lord-
‘ ships desire, that the ministry will act a part be-
‘ coming *Englishmen*, that they will amply revenge
‘ the wrongs we have already suffered, and pro-
‘ vide for the honour and safety of the nation?
‘ My Lords, let me become surety for their pro-
‘ ceedings on this occasion. I know many amongst
‘ them to be men of such worth, that they would
‘ disdain to amuse the nation, or to impose upon
‘ this house by sham preparations or mock-assuran-
‘ ces. My Lords, if they should act in so scanda-
‘ lous a manner, I should be the first man in this
‘ house to move for bringing them to justice;
‘ nay, my Lords, I here solemnly promise to your
‘ Lordships, that if, before your next meeting,
‘ every end is not answered which we could gain
‘ by agreeing to the motion for this resolution, I
‘ myself will, on the first day of the next session,
‘ move the house to call them to an account.

‘ But, my Lords, my hopes, that we shall
‘ act a becoming part on this occasion, are not
‘ grounded so much on the confidence I have in
‘ the ministry, as on my knowledge of his Ma-
‘ jesty’s tender regard to the rights and properties
‘ of his subjects. No consideration, my Lords,
‘ after what we have suffered from *Spain*, can in-
‘ duce his Majesty to act any other than a vigo-
‘ rous and an honourable part; and, my Lords, I
‘ think

‘ think it would be doing an injury to his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s known zeal for the good of the nation, if
 ‘ we should precipitate measures by interposing in
 ‘ what he has, to my knowledge, already re-
 ‘ solved upon. Therefore, let me desire your
 ‘ Lordships to drop the main question, and to
 ‘ put the previous one.’

The previous question being put, it was carried
 against putting the main question, 63 against 44.

Upon this, the following protest was entered in
 the journals of that house.

Dissentient

Protest upon
 this occasion.

BECAUSE we think the main question should
 have been put and passed in the affirmative,
 since every Lord who spoke in the debate agreed,
 that it was strictly true; and we do not appre-
 hend the least inconvenience could possibly have
 arisen from it; but on the contrary, that the sta-
 ting of the fact of the manifest infraction of the
 convention, was a necessary foundation for the
 subsequent advice of this house to his Majesty,
 which advice we think the more necessary, since
 we are convinced by the experience of many
 years, that the counsels of the administration, far
 from procuring any reparation or satisfaction for
 the insults and injuries this nation has received,
 have only exposed it to further dishonour and
 contempt.

Chesterfield,
 Masham,
 Carteret,
 Bathurst,
 Foley,
 Lickfield,
 Suffolk,

Boyle,
 Shaftesbury,
 Coventry,
 Cobham,
 Stanhope,
 Northampton,

Strafford,
 Gower,
 Aylesford,
 Westmoreland,
 Winchelsea and
 Nottingham.

On

On *Thursday* the 14th of *June*, his Majesty came to the house, and after giving the Royal Assent to all the publick and private bills then ready, he concluded the session with the following most gracious speech from the throne, *viz.*

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ **T**HE dispatch you have given to the publick business that has been under your consideration, makes it proper to put an end to this session of Parliament, and to give you that recess, which the season of the year requires.

His Majesty's speech at the end of the session.

‘ You have so fully declared your sentiments, as well with regard to the past conduct of *Spain*, as to the measures that might become necessary to be pursued, in consequence of any part which that court might afterwards take, and enabled me to act, in all events, as the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms shall require, that no inconvenience can arise from the immediate want of your further assistance, during the recess of Parliament; and I shall so entirely rely upon the assurances you have given me, with so much zeal and unanimity, and upon your effectually supporting me in following the concurrent advice of both houses of Parliament, that I will not be wanting in my endeavours to vindicate and maintain our undoubted rights, and to answer the just expectations of my people.

‘ *Gentlemen of the house of Commons,*

‘ I return you my thanks for the necessary provisions you have made for the service of the current year, in so ample a manner. The extraordinary supply which you have granted me, towards augmenting my forces by sea and land, is such a proof of your affection and confidence

‘ in me, and of your constant attention to the
 ‘ service of your country, that I cannot enough
 ‘ commend this seasonable care of the welfare and
 ‘ safety of the kingdom.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ I am persuaded, it is unnecessary for me to re-
 ‘ commend to your serious consideration, the fatal
 ‘ consequences that may threaten a nation divided
 ‘ within itself, inflamed, and misled by all the
 ‘ wicked arts and insinuations, that malice and
 ‘ falshood can suggest. It is too obvious, what ad-
 ‘ vantages our common enemies wait to take, from
 ‘ the heats and animosities, that, under groundless
 ‘ pretences, are industriously fomented, and spread
 ‘ throughout the kingdom. Let all, who profess
 ‘ themselves zealous assertors of the rights and
 ‘ privileges, laws and liberties of their country,
 ‘ and of the Protestant religion, under the pre-
 ‘ sent establishment, unite in the defence of these
 ‘ inestimable blessings. Let the honour, prospe-
 ‘ rity, and safety of the kingdom become one
 ‘ common cause, and reconcile all civil discords
 ‘ and divisions; that, by your unanimity, you
 ‘ may disappoint the only hopes, and vain expec-
 ‘ tations of our enemies.’

After which the Lord Chancellor, by his Ma-
 jesty’s command, prorogu’d the Parliament to
Thursday the 9th of *August* next.

The Duke and four Princesses were in the
 house, and upon passing the bill for settling annui-
 ties on them, they all rose up, and made their
 obeisance to the throne, and then to both houses.

The

The sixth session of the fourth Septennial Parliament.

ON *Thursday, November 15*, his Majesty opened the session of Parliament with the following most gracious speech, *viz.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE present posture of our affairs has His Majesty's speech obliged me to call you together, at this time, sooner than has been usual of late years, that I may have the immediate advice and assistance of my Parliament at this critical and important conjuncture. I have, in all my proceedings with the court of *Spain*, acted agreeably to the sense of both houses of Parliament; and therefore I can make no doubt, but I shall meet with a ready and vigorous support in this just and necessary war, which the repeated injuries, and violences committed by that nation upon the navigation and commerce of these kingdoms, and their obstinacy, and notorious violation of the most solemn engagements have rendered unavoidable.

I have augmented my forces by sea and land, pursuant to the power given me by Parliament; which I have done with all the moderation, that the security and defence of my dominions, the protection of our trade, and the necessary means of distressing and annoying our enemies in the most sensible parts, would admit: But as these services will be various and extensive, they must inevitably be attended with great expences, and some inconveniencies; which, I assure myself, will be sustained with satisfaction and cheerfulness, in pursuing such measures, as the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms, and

‘ and the general resentment of an injured and
‘ provoked nation, have called upon me to un-
‘ dertake.

‘ *Gentlemen of the house of Commons,*

‘ I have ordered the proper officers to lay be-
‘ fore you estimates for the service of the ensuing
‘ year, and likewise accounts of the extraordinary
‘ expences that have been made this year, in pur-
‘ suance of the power given me by Parliament.
‘ And as in the prosecution of this war, a num-
‘ ber of soldiers, to serve on board the fleet, may
‘ be requisite; I have judged it proper, that a
‘ body of marines should be raised, and have di-
‘ rected the estimates for this purpose to be like-
‘ wise prepared, and laid before you: And I can-
‘ not doubt, from your known affection to my
‘ person and government, and your zeal for the
‘ safety, prosperity, and glory of these kingdoms,
‘ but you will grant me such effectual supplies,
‘ and with such dispatch, as may forward, and
‘ give spirit to our preparations, and enable me to
‘ carry on the war with vigour.

‘ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ The heats and animosities, which, with the
‘ greatest industry, have been fomented through-
‘ out the kingdom, have, I am afraid, been one
‘ of the chief encouragements to the court of
‘ *Spain*, to hold such a conduct towards us, as to
‘ make it necessary to have recourse to arms; and
‘ the unhappy divisions amongst my subjects, are
‘ the only hopes of the enemies to my govern-
‘ ment: But whatever views and projects they
‘ may form upon this rupture, and what advan-
‘ tages soever *Spain* may vainly promise itself
‘ from any circumstances in the present situation
‘ of affairs; it is in your power, by the blessing
‘ of God, to defeat the one, and disappoint the
‘ other.

‘ other. Union among all those, who have no-
 ‘ thing at heart but the true interest of *Great*
 ‘ *Britain*, and a becoming zeal in the defence of
 ‘ my kingdoms, and in the support of the com-
 ‘ mon cause of our country, with as general a
 ‘ concurrence in carrying on the war, as there has
 ‘ appeared for engaging in it, will make the court
 ‘ of *Spain* repent the wrongs they have done us;
 ‘ and convince those, who mean the subversion
 ‘ of the present establishment, that this nation is
 ‘ determined, and able, both to vindicate their
 ‘ injured honour, and to defend themselves a-
 ‘ gainst all our open and secret enemies, both at
 ‘ home and abroad.’

His Majesty and the Commons being with-
 drawn, and the speech read in the house of Lords,
 the Lord *Hinton* rose up, and spoke as fol-
 lows, *viz.*

‘ My Lords,

‘ As you have heard his Majesty’s most gracious
 ‘ speech from the throne, and it is our duty to
 ‘ return some sort of answer by way of address, I
 ‘ should not think myself under a necessity to say
 ‘ any thing in favour of the motion which I am
 ‘ to make, in pursuance of a custom so reasonable
 ‘ and so long established, if it were not that,
 ‘ upon so extraordinary and so important an occa-
 ‘ sion, I think we ought to express our duty and
 ‘ affection to our Sovereign, in terms more expli-
 ‘ cit than usual. For this reason, I must beg
 ‘ leave to say something with regard to the mea-
 ‘ sures his Majesty has pursued, and with regard
 ‘ to the situation in which we are at present.

Lord *Hin-*
ton’s speech
 and motion
 for an ad-
 dress.

‘ As to the measures pursued by his Majesty,
 ‘ my Lords, it is well known, that he has, in
 ‘ every thing, followed the advice given him by
 ‘ his Parliament. According to that advice, he
 ‘ endeavoured

' endeavoured as much as possible to obtain justice
 ' and satisfaction from *Spain* by peaceable means.
 ' He even avoided putting the nation to the ex-
 ' pence of warlike preparations, till he was advised
 ' by his Parliament to insist peremptorily upon im-
 ' mediate satisfaction for past injuries, and absolute
 ' security against future; and when the *Spaniards*
 ' saw that his Majesty, by the advice of his Parlia-
 ' ment, not only threatned, but was preparing to
 ' make the just resentment of this nation fall heavy
 ' upon them, they then thought fit to procrastinate
 ' at least the effects of that resentment, by agreeing
 ' to reasonable terms.

' To a trading nation, my Lords, especially a
 ' nation like this, whose interest it is to remain sa-
 ' tisfied with its own possessions, without attempt-
 ' ing to make conquests upon its neighbours, a
 ' state of war must always be dangerous and in-
 ' convenient, and can never be attended with any
 ' great advantage. This his Majesty was fully
 ' sensible of, and therefore he ratified the conven-
 ' tion agreed to by *Spain*. This the Parliament
 ' was fully sensible of, and therefore that conven-
 ' tion was last session approved of by a majority
 ' in each house of Parliament, though both his
 ' Majesty and his Parliament saw that it was not
 ' so satisfactory as might have been expected, and
 ' that as to most of the articles in dispute, it
 ' was rather a preliminary than a definitive treaty;
 ' but by a fatality, happy, I hope, for this na-
 ' tion, the *Spaniards* refused to comply with the
 ' terms they so solemnly agreed to by that con-
 ' vention, though those terms were the most mo-
 ' derate this nation could accept of, and more
 ' moderate by far than the *Spaniards* had reason
 ' to believe we would accept of. These terms,
 ' I say, without the least failure on our part, the
 ' *Spaniards* thought fit not to comply with, and
 ' thereby they render'd it necessary for his Majesty
 ' to

‘ to begin hostilities against them, in pursuance of
‘ that advice which had been given him by his
‘ Parliament. This he accordingly did as soon as
‘ he could find an opportunity, and when he found,
‘ that the gentle method of reprisals would not be
‘ sufficient for bringing them to reason, he declared
‘ war against them in form.

‘ Thus, my Lords, his Majesty has, in every
‘ step of his past conduct, pursued that advice
‘ which was given him by his Parliament. From
‘ hence we may presume, he will follow the same
‘ advice in every step of his future conduct; and
‘ from hence we may promise ourselves success in
‘ all our publick undertakings; for this nation has
‘ always been happy and successful, when our Sove-
‘ reign followed the advice of his Parliament. In all
‘ such cases, the Parliament unanimously agreed to
‘ support their Sovereign, in the pursuit of those
‘ measures which they themselves had advised: It
‘ was their duty to do so; and the people heartily
‘ concurred in rendering every step successful.
‘ This has been the happy state of this nation in
‘ some former reigns, and as none of our Kings
‘ ever shewed a greater regard for the advice of
‘ Parliament, than his present Majesty has always
‘ done, I hope that, in duty and affection to their
‘ Sovereign, the present generation will take care
‘ not to fall short of their ancestors in any former
‘ reign.

‘ His Majesty, my Lords, by your advice, is
‘ now engaged in an open and declared war. It
‘ is one of the most just and necessary wars this
‘ nation was ever engaged in; for the *Spaniards*
‘ have not only heaped many injuries upon us,
‘ but have broke through the most solemn engage-
‘ ments that were ever made by any nation. What
‘ their reason was for treating us in this contemp-
‘ tuous manner, his Majesty has told us in his
‘ speech from the throne, and I am convinced it

‘ was the only true reason. They saw there were
‘ great animosities and divisions amongst us, and
‘ from these they hoped to reap some advantage,
‘ in case of a war, or perhaps they imagined, our
‘ government would not, on account of these ani-
‘ mosities and divisions, dare to vindicate the ho-
‘ nour, or assert the rights of the nation. If their
‘ hopes of impunity were founded upon the latter
‘ of these expectations, they have already found
‘ themselves disappointed; and if upon the former,
‘ I hope, they will at last find themselves equally
‘ mistaken. I hope the unanimity that shall this
‘ day be shewn, in agreeing to what I am to pro-
‘ pose, will convince them, that if there were any
‘ divisions amongst us, they are now at an end;
‘ and that therefore they can from thence expect
‘ no advantage in the prosecution of the war.

‘ This, my Lords, may probably put a speedy,
‘ as well as honourable end to the war, which is,
‘ I am sure, what every one of your Lordships
‘ most heartily wishes to see. His Majesty has
‘ already taken all possible care, by providing for
‘ our defence at home, to prevent its being in the
‘ power of our enemies to hurt us; and as soon as
‘ the season will permit, we may attack them with
‘ such a force, as they cannot, in all human pro-
‘ bability, resist. They can, therefore, have no
‘ hopes in prosecuting, no more than they had in
‘ provoking the war, but such as are founded upon
‘ divisions amongst ourselves. If it had not been
‘ for such hopes, I am fully convinced they would
‘ never have provoked us to war; and if, by a
‘ cordial union amongst ourselves, we should put
‘ an end to these hopes, I am as fully convinced,
‘ they will soon begin to think of preventing a
‘ farther prosecution by a speedy submission.

‘ For this reason, my Lords, we ought this
‘ day, I think, to be more full and explicit in our
‘ expressions of duty and affection to his Majesty,
‘ than

“ than is usual upon such occasions; and, for the
“ same reason, we ought to be unanimous in those
“ expressions of duty and affection that are necessary
“ upon this occasion. This is what I most
“ heartily wish for, and therefore I have taken all
“ possible care to avoid inserting any thing in my
“ proposition, that may occasion the least objection
“ or difficulty. If there is any thing in it that, to
“ some Lords, may appear a little extraordinary,
“ I hope I have given sufficient reasons for it,
“ therefore shall add no more, but conclude with
“ moving your Lordships, “ That an humble address
“ be presented to his Majesty, to return
“ thanks for his most gracious speech from the
“ throne.—To declare, that the great regard,
“ which his Majesty hath expressed for the sense
“ of both houses of Parliament, in his proceedings
“ with the court of *Spain*, is a continuance of that
“ goodness and concern for the true interest of his
“ people, which we have so often experienced;
“ and that his Majesty’s desire to have the advice
“ and assistance of his Parliament, as early as possible,
“ in this important conjuncture, is a fresh
“ proof of his confidence in his faithful subjects.
“ —That the justice and necessity of the war,
“ which his Majesty has been pleased to declare
“ against *Spain*, must be as demonstrable to all the
“ world, as the violent and intolerable methods
“ practised by that nation, to interrupt and distress
“ the commerce and navigation of these kingdoms,
“ are notorious; and, that it is the highest aggravation
“ of this offensive and inexcusable conduct,
“ that it hath been obstinately pursued, in breach
“ of the most solemn engagements, and in defiance
“ of the highest obligations of friendship and good
“ offices: But, that since *Great Britain* has been
“ thus unavoidably called forth to arms, we esteem
“ it our peculiar felicity, that we have a Prince
“ upon the throne, who, with paternal tenderness,

“ joins in the just resentment of an injured nation;
“ and whose magnanimity and steadiness are equal
“ to the glorious cause in which he is engaged. —
“ That on this occasion, the unfeigned tender of
“ our lives and fortunes is no more than is due to
“ his Majesty, and our country; and that we do,
“ from the bottom of our hearts, give his Majesty
“ the strongest assurances that we will zealously
“ concur in all such measures, as may forward his
“ preparations, and enable him to carry on the war
“ with that spirit and vigour, which truly become
“ the *British* name.—That his Majesty’s goodness
“ in acquainting us from the throne, that he has
“ augmented his forces by sea and land, pursuant
“ to the power given him by Parliament, with all
“ the moderation that was consistent with those de-
“ sirable ends, which he, in his royal wisdom, has
“ pointed out to us, is an instance of his Majesty’s
“ gracious disposition to avoid bringing any unne-
“ cessary burdens upon his people: And, that
“ though we cannot flatter ourselves, that a state
“ of war will not be attended with great expences,
“ and some inconveniences; yet, when it is under-
“ taken, not to gratify the views of restless ambi-
“ tion, but to assert and maintain the honour and
“ just rights of his Majesty’s crown and kingdoms,
“ we doubt not, but those powerful motives will
“ induce all his subjects to undergo with chearful-
“ ness, whatever is necessary in the prosecution of
“ it.—That it gives us inexpressible concern, that
“ there should be any occasion for his Majesty to
“ repeat his gracious admonitions against those
“ heats and animosities, which have been fomented
“ throughout the kingdom: That as we cannot
“ but most seriously lament the unhappy divisions
“ thereby occasioned, so nothing shall be wanting
“ on our part to heal them, by promoting that
“ good harmony and unanimity, which are so ne-
“ cessary at this juncture: And that we trust in
“ God,

“ God, that any hopes or views formed by our
 “ enemies upon such circumstances, will be found
 “ utterly vain and groundless; since all his Maje-
 “ sty’s subjects must be convinced, that the secu-
 “ rity of our religion and liberties, and the safety
 “ and prosperity of these kingdoms, do entirely
 “ depend on the preservation of his sacred person
 “ and government, and of the Protestant succe-
 “ sion in his royal house.—That in this common
 “ cause, interest, as well as duty, will make us
 “ unite; and that we do with the greatest zeal
 “ and firmness assure his Majesty, that we are de-
 “ termined, at the hazard of all that is dear to
 “ us, to support it against all his enemies, both
 “ at home and abroad; imploring the divine Pro-
 “ vidence to give success to his arms, and make
 “ them the happy means of procuring a safe and
 “ honourable peace.”

After him, the Lord Viscount *Fauconberg* spoke thus:

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ The address moved for by the noble Lord, Seconded by Lord Fauconberg.
 ‘ is so full of affectionate duty to his Majesty,
 ‘ and so expressive of what ought to be, and I
 ‘ hope is, the sense of the house upon this occa-
 ‘ sion, that I humbly second his Lordship’s
 ‘ motion.’

The Lord *Carteret* then stood up, and spoke to the following effect:

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ As the motion the noble Lord has been Lord Carteret’s speech for an amendment.
 ‘ pleased to make is pretty long, I cannot pretend
 ‘ to remember exactly the words, and as upon
 ‘ hearing it read, I observed some words which,
 ‘ to me, seemed not quite so right, I must desire

the favour to have the motion in my hand. (The motion being delivered to him, after perusing it, he went on thus) My Lords, as this is one of the greatest, one of the most important conjunctures that ever happened to this nation, I desire and wish as heartily as the noble Lord who made you this motion, or any Lord can do, that we may be unanimous in the resolution we come to upon this occasion. The greatest part of the noble Lord's motion, I highly approve of. There are only a few words towards the latter end, which I think might have been left out; and as they are, in my opinion, quite unnecessary, I hope the noble Lord will, for the sake of that unanimity he so much desires, agree to have them left out of his motion. The words I mean are, *That it gives us inexpressible concern*, with the following, which make the last paragraph but one, of the noble Lord's motion. These words, I humbly think, my Lords, are quite unnecessary; and, as they may give offence to some Lords, and may occasion an opposition to a resolution, which would otherwise be unanimously agreed to, I hope the noble Lord will not insist upon their standing a part of his motion. But I offer this as my opinion only, I do not make it my motion, because I am resolved to wait till I hear what may be said by other Lords upon this head.

My Lords, we have now weathered the point of negotiation, and are fairly launched out in the open sea of a declared war. God grant we may meet with a prosperous gale. We have human probability of our side, and as we have justice likewise of our side, we have reason to expect the favour of Providence; therefore, I have no doubt of a successful voyage, if we take care to put ourselves under
the

‘ the direction of good pilots. Ministers and ne-
‘ gotiators will not, I hope, I am sure they ought
‘ not now, to be our advisers. We have good
‘ generals, we have brave and experienced admi-
‘ rals: We must now chuse them for our pilots:
‘ We must take their advice; and, if their ad-
‘ vice be taken, and vigorously pursued, I shall
‘ not hereafter find fault with events, on account
‘ of any cross accidents we may meet with in the
‘ prosecution of the war. Providence only can
‘ direct events, but men can plan; and if the
‘ plan be good, if the scheme be well laid, no
‘ man ought to find fault with the event. But,
‘ if the forming of our schemes for the prosecu-
‘ tion of the war be left to ignorant and pusilla-
‘ nimous counsellors, we cannot expect they
‘ should be right; and a wrong scheme may be
‘ found fault with, even though the event should,
‘ by an extraordinary interposition of Providence,
‘ prove successful.

‘ In the prosecution of the present war, I hope
‘ every man will, in his proper sphere, contribute
‘ as much as he can towards the success of his
‘ country. My Lords, I am persuaded every
‘ man will; because no war was ever entered into
‘ with greater unanimity amongst all ranks and
‘ degrees of men. We cannot, therefore, justly
‘ say any thing, upon this occasion, of animosi-
‘ ties and divisions. If there were ever any do-
‘ mestick animosities or divisions amongst us, they
‘ were occasioned by our tamely submitting to so
‘ many foreign insults. These his Majesty’s de-
‘ claration of war has put an end to, and nothing
‘ can revive them but a slackness in the prosecu-
‘ tion. For this reason I wish they had not been
‘ mentioned upon this occasion. I’m afraid it is
‘ ominous: It looks as if some people were suspi-
‘ cious that the war will not be pushed in such a
‘ vigorous manner as a people greatly injured,

and justly enraged, may have reason to expect. If this be the case, they have good reason to warn us against animosities and divisions; but their warnings will be in vain. Our former divisions will revive, and our animosities may increase to such a degree, as to endanger the domestic tranquillity of the nation, unless they be appeased by a sacrifice of those who were the cause of their being revived.

For this reason, I say, my Lords, I wish I had heard nothing of animosities or divisions upon this occasion; and I am surprized how any such thing could creep into his Majesty's speech. In a free country, such as this, Lords or gentlemen may differ in their opinions about publick measures; and as the interest of their country is concerned, they may, they ought to support their opinions with fervency and zeal: But that difference in opinion is not to be called a division, nor is that fervency to be called animosity. Something of our divisions and animosities was, I remember, mentioned in a piece that was handed about as the manifesto of *Spain*. This I was no way surprized at; because in *Spain* they can have no difference in opinion about publick measures, at least, if they have, they dare as little declare it, as they dare declare their difference of opinion about matters of faith or religion; therefore, they might probably mistake the one for the other, by supposing that to be a division amongst us, which was really nothing but a difference in opinion. But, I hope, his Majesty's ministers are better acquainted with the constitution of their country, than to fall into any such mistake; and they should particularly, upon this occasion, have avoided saying any thing about divisions or animosities, because it will confirm the *Spaniards* in the mistake they are in, and may, as the noble

‘ noble Lord apprehends, encourage them to con-
‘ tinue the war, in hopes that they may be able
‘ to reap some advantage from our divisions.

‘ From hence your Lordships must see, that
‘ no such thing ought to have been mentioned in
‘ his Majesty’s speech from the throne; and
‘ much less, I am sure, ought it to be mentioned
‘ in our address. If his Majesty’s ministers have
‘ fallen into a mistake, and a mistake too that
‘ may be attended with such a bad consequence,
‘ as that of prolonging the war, shall we in our
‘ address, out of pure complaisance, echo that
‘ mistake back to the throne, and thereby render
‘ infallible the bad consequence which we might
‘ otherwise have prevented? Shall we, my Lords,
‘ be so uncharitable as to think, and much less to
‘ say, that all those who differ from us in opinion
‘ about publick measures, are promoters of divi-
‘ sions, and fomenters of heats and animosities?
‘ It is impossible that any Lord should expect an
‘ unanimous concurrence in such expressions. They
‘ are expressions that can properly be made use of
‘ by none but the arbitrary ministers of an abso-
‘ lute Monarch; and therefore, I was not a little
‘ surprized at seeing any thing like them in his
‘ Majesty’s speech from the throne; but I was
‘ much more surprized, to find the obstinacy of
‘ the *Spaniards* imputed to the heats and animosi-
‘ ties that have been fomented amongst us. It is
‘ a maxim in this house, to look upon his Maje-
‘ sty’s speech from the throne, as the speech of
‘ his ministers; and nothing can contribute more
‘ to shew the justness of this maxim, than that of
‘ imputing the obstinacy of the *Spaniards* to any
‘ heats or animosities that have been fomented
‘ amongst us.

‘ Almost every man in the nation, I believe,
‘ is now convinced, at least every man that thinks
‘ at all about publick affairs, must be convinced,
‘ that

‘ that the strange obstinacy of the *Spaniards* has
‘ all along proceeded from the known passivity of
‘ our ministers. We submitted tamely to the first
‘ insult they put upon us, that encouraged them
‘ to put a second: We bore the second with pa-
‘ tience, that encouraged them to put a third:
‘ Upon the third we modestly complained, and
‘ humbly prayed to negotiate, that encouraged
‘ them to put a fourth; and thus we continued
‘ submitting and negotiating, and they continued
‘ plundering and insulting, till at last, I really be-
‘ lieve, they began to think that no sort of treat-
‘ ment could provoke us to commence hostilities,
‘ or declare war against them. Thus, by the
‘ tame and submissive temper of our ministers,
‘ the *Spaniards* have been encouraged to hold
‘ such a conduct towards us, as to make it neces-
‘ sary even for our ministers to have recourse to
‘ arms; and now those very ministers, in order
‘ to remove the load off of their own shoulders,
‘ come and tell us, that those who complained of
‘ their submissive conduct, and often told them
‘ what it would end in, were fomenters of heats
‘ and animosities; and that those heats and ani-
‘ mosities were the chief cause of that obstinacy
‘ which *Spain* has shewn in her conduct to-
‘ wards us.

‘ I shall readily grant, my Lords, that the just
‘ complaints of our plundered merchants, and
‘ the regard shewn to those complaints by the
‘ whole nation, excepting a very few persons,
‘ were the immediate cause of the war, because
‘ they forced our ministers to alter their conduct;
‘ but, I hope, neither the complaints of the
‘ merchants, nor the regard shewn to them by
‘ the people, are to be called heats and animosi-
‘ ties; and call them by what names you will,
‘ they were not the cause, but the effect of that
‘ obstinacy in *Spain*, of which the tameness of
‘ our

‘ our ministers was the cause ; consequently, it is
‘ in this tameness alone we are to seek for the ori-
‘ ginal cause of the present war ; for if our mi-
‘ nisters had resented, as they ought, the first in-
‘ jury that was done to our merchants by the
‘ *Spaniards*, it would have prevented a second,
‘ and for the first we might by reprisals, if not
‘ by fair means, have obtained redress, without
‘ coming to an open rupture ; or if we had then
‘ come to an open rupture, we should have pre-
‘ vented a very great prejudice the nation has suf-
‘ fered by an interruption of its trade, and many
‘ considerable losses our merchants have sustain’d
‘ by the plundering and seizing their ships ; and I
‘ believe no man will say, we had not then as fa-
‘ vourable an opportunity for engaging in a war
‘ against *Spain*, as we have at present.

‘ Having thus, my Lords, shewn what it real-
‘ ly was, that encouraged the *Spaniards* to pro-
‘ voke us to war, I must observe, that if they
‘ still continue obstinate, it will, I believe, be
‘ owing to the same cause. They are sensible of
‘ the superiority of our naval force, which, at
‘ the same time that it enables us to hurt them in
‘ the most sensible part, may prevent their being
‘ able to hurt us in any ; and they can have no
‘ hopes to reap any advantage from those divi-
‘ sions and animosities, which, if there were any
‘ amongst us, his Majesty has put a final end to,
‘ by declaring war against them. Their hopes,
‘ therefore, can depend upon nothing but upon
‘ our not prosecuting the war with wisdom and
‘ vigour. They may, perhaps, hope, that the
‘ same perplex’d and timorous spirits will hereafter
‘ prevail in our warlike measures, that formerly
‘ prevailed in our peaceful negotiations ; and if
‘ they continue obstinate in prosecuting the war,
‘ I shall conclude that they entertain some such
‘ hopes ; but I trust in God they’ll find them-
‘ selves

‘ selves disappointed. Our generals and our admirals are men of a different cast from what they have experienced in our ministers and negotiators; and if the conduct of the war be committed to the care of our generals and admirals, as I hope it will, the *Spaniards* will soon find they have nothing to trust to, but our mercy and forgiveness.

‘ I shall join with the noble Lord in supposing, that every one of your Lordships wishes to see a speedy, as well as honourable end to the war. It is very much the business of this nation to make the war as short as possible; and the most effectual method for rendering it short, is to make it violent. War is a sort of storm, and like other storms, the more violent it is, the sooner it will be over. If we push it vigorously, and in the right place, it cannot be of long continuance. For this purpose the *West-Indies* is the only proper place. We may plague and harass the enemy by making incursions upon the continent of *Old Spain*, and by burning the ships in their harbours, as often as we can get an opportunity; but *America* is the place where we ought to direct our chief force. There the *Spaniards* cannot resist us, and there we may do more than make incursions. We may there take and hold such places, as we think may be either convenient or useful. It is what *Spain* cannot hinder: It is what *Europe* cannot prevent; and by holding the places we take, we add to our own strength, at the same time that we diminish the strength of our enemy.

‘ The late King *William* I shall always, my Lords, have a great regard for. His actions were right: Even his thoughts were right. He knew the most proper way for this nation to push a war against *Spain*. He knew that the *West-Indies* was the place where we could
‘ most

‘ most injure the enemy, and benefit ourselves.
‘ For this reason, in the treaty of grand alliance
‘ concluded between the Emperor, *England*, and
‘ *Holland*, in the year 1701, he took care, by
‘ the 6th article of that treaty, to stipulate,
“ That it should be lawful for him, and the
“ Lords the States General, *by common advice*,
“ and for the benefit and enlargement of the na-
“ vigation and commerce of their subjects, to
“ seize, by their forces, what lands and cities
“ they could, belonging to the *Spanish* dominions
“ in the *Indies*; and that whatsoever they should so
“ take, should be their own.” That great and
‘ wise Prince did not live to prosecute his design;
‘ but this article shews what were his thoughts,
‘ and even the thoughts of such a man may be of
‘ great use to his country. After his death, we
‘ had not such an influence upon the councils of
‘ the States General, as we had before. They be-
‘ gan to think it was more for the interest of the
‘ confederacy to make conquests in *Europe*, than
‘ to make conquests in the *Indies*, therefore they
‘ refused to join with us in any undertaking against
‘ the *Spanish* dominions in the *Indies*, and we could
‘ not engage in any such without their concur-
‘ rence. The war, ’tis true, could hardly be
‘ more glorious and successful than it was; but
‘ it would probably have been of shorter duration,
‘ and would certainly have been more advanta-
‘ geous for this nation, if the scheme formed
‘ by King *William* had been followed in every
‘ part.

‘ If we have now, my Lords, the misfortune
‘ of having no allies, we have, at least, this ad-
‘ vantage resulting from it, that in our present
‘ war against *Spain*, we may follow the plan laid
‘ down by that glorious Prince without any re-
‘ straint, and without asking the advice of any
‘ power in *Europe*; therefore, I hope this is the
‘ plan

‘ plan now resolved on, for our future operations.
 ‘ I hope they will be chiefly directed towards sei-
 ‘ zing such lands and cities, belonging to the *Spa-*
 ‘ *nish* dominions in the *Indies*, as may contribute
 ‘ towards the benefit and enlargement of our na-
 ‘ vigation and commerce; or at least, such as are
 ‘ necessary for securing the freedom of that navi-
 ‘ gation and commerce, which we have now a
 ‘ right to in those parts of the world. We have
 ‘ met with such provocations from *Spain*, as must
 ‘ render this war just on our part, in the eyes of
 ‘ every impartial judge; and, in the prosecution
 ‘ of a just war, no power in *Europe* has a right,
 ‘ few of them can have an inclination to direct us,
 ‘ or to restrain us from making such conquests as
 ‘ may be sufficient for answering the charge of the
 ‘ war, as well as such as may be necessary for pre-
 ‘ venting our meeting with any injustice for the
 ‘ future.

‘ The *Spaniards*, my Lords, have for many
 ‘ years behaved towards us, not only in the most
 ‘ unjust, but in the most cruel and barbarous man-
 ‘ ner. They have not only in the most contemp-
 ‘ tuous manner insulted the crown, but they have
 ‘ in the most barbarous manner injured the subjects
 ‘ of these kingdoms; and that, at a time when
 ‘ they were professing the greatest friendship to-
 ‘ wards us, and receiving many acts of friendship
 ‘ from us. They have for several years been deal-
 ‘ ing with us in the most treacherous manner. But
 ‘ I shall avoid giving hard names. I would not
 ‘ give hard words even to the *Spaniards*; but I
 ‘ would, and I hope we shall, give them very
 ‘ hard blows; and that, upon the most sensible
 ‘ part. Every one knows, my Lords, where that
 ‘ is. It is in *America*, where we can make them
 ‘ feel most sensibly the weight of our resentment:
 ‘ It is by conquests in that part of the world,
 ‘ where we can most effectually secure or enlarge
 ‘ our

‘ our commerce and navigation; and it is there,
‘ where they can least resist us. If they have none
‘ to assist them, we must, by attacking them vi-
‘ gorously in that part of the world, bring the war
‘ to a speedy issue, and to an issue that will be ad-
‘ vantageous as well as glorious to this nation.

‘ What then have we to fear, my Lords? From
‘ a war with the *Spaniards* we have nothing to
‘ fear; but from a peace with them, unless it be
‘ such a one as we shall prescribe, we have a great
‘ deal to fear. Former experience has shewn, that
‘ we have nothing to fear from the force of their
‘ arms in time of war; but late experience has
‘ shewn, that we have something to fear from their
‘ treachery in time of peace. But some persons
‘ amongst us may, perhaps, be frightened, lest the
‘ *Spaniards* should be assisted by some of the other
‘ powers of *Europe*. My Lords, they can be as-
‘ sisted by none but the *French*; and *France*, in its
‘ present circumstance, and according to that which
‘ seems to be its present scheme of politicks, will,
‘ I believe, be very loth to engage in a war with
‘ this nation. The great age of him who now so
‘ worthily presides over the councils of that king-
‘ dom, must make him desire to end his days in
‘ peace; and therefore it is not probable that he
‘ will engage in a dangerous war, for supporting
‘ the romantick and unjust pretensions of the court
‘ of *Spain*; pretensions which may one day prove
‘ as troublesome and prejudicial to *France*, as they
‘ have lately proved to *England*. Besides, the
‘ *French* seem now to be more intent upon extend-
‘ ing their trade, than upon extending their domi-
‘ nions; and, in a war with this nation, their trade
‘ must suffer in every branch: Nay, if we exert
‘ ourselves as we ought, it must be entirely sus-
‘ pended.

‘ But the difference, my Lords, between this
‘ nation and *France* is, that our trade is our chief
‘ support,

‘ support, and therefore we must sacrifice every
‘ other view to the preservation of our trade:
‘ Whereas the chief support of *France* does not
‘ depend upon its trade, and for this reason the
‘ *French* may, on account of other views, make a
‘ sacrifice of their trade for a time. But suppose
‘ they should resolve to make a sacrifice of their
‘ own trade, in order to distress the trade of this
‘ nation, by joining openly with *Spain* against us,
‘ what can they do? They must fight us by sea,
‘ or not at all: They can attack us no other way;
‘ and there we are greatly superior. The navies
‘ of *France* and *Spain* joined together, are no match
‘ for the navy of *Great Britain*; and, if we should
‘ destroy the first squadron they fit out, we might
‘ ruin the dominions of both in the *West-Indies*,
‘ before they could be able to fit ought another.
‘ To talk of their invading us here at home, as
‘ long as we are united amongst ourselves, is a
‘ mere bug-bear. We have already properly pro-
‘ vided against it, by augmenting our land forces,
‘ and by covering the sea with our ships of war.
‘ The sea, my Lords, when so covered, is our
‘ defence and our safe-guard; when not so cover-
‘ ed, it is our prison. His Majesty’s declaration
‘ of war against *Spain*, has healed all our divisions.
‘ There is now no animosity in the kingdom, but
‘ a most general one against the *Spaniards*; and an
‘ invasion from *France*, upon the present occasion,
‘ would unite us more firmly than ever. They
‘ cannot therefore attempt to invade us, without
‘ sending at once such an army as would be suffi-
‘ cient for conquering the kingdom. For this pur-
‘ pose, they must send a very great army of horse
‘ as well as foot; and the providing of ships for
‘ transporting such an army, would take up so
‘ much time, and make such a noise abroad, that
‘ we must hear of it; in which case, we could ea-
‘ sily send a squadron superior to any they can fit
‘ out,

‘ out, to burn their ships in the harbour, or to
‘ intercept them, if they dared put to sea.

‘ In short, my Lords, *France*, by joining in the
‘ war, must ruin her own trade, and may distress
‘ ours a little, but she cannot otherwise hurt us;
‘ and if we are not obliged to maintain great armies
‘ upon the continent of *Europe*, as we were in the
‘ last war, we may send such a naval force to the
‘ *West-Indies*, as both *France* and *Spain* joined to-
‘ gether cannot resist; the consequence of which
‘ would be, the loss of all the dominions belonging
‘ to both these nations in that part of the world.
‘ Therefore, if the *French* should resolve to join
‘ with *Spain* in the present war, they can do it no
‘ way with any effect against us, but by endea-
‘ vouring to overturn the balance of power in *Eu-*
‘ *rope*, and for that purpose raising a new war up-
‘ on the continent, which would of course make
‘ our former allies sue to us, for renewing the an-
‘ tient confederacy against *France* and *Spain*.

‘ Our former allies, nay, all the powers of *Eu-*
‘ *rope*, my Lords, are already surprized at our de-
‘ claration of war. If we pursue it with wisdom
‘ and vigour, it must, in all human probability,
‘ be successful; and this will make the powers of
‘ *Europe* begin to respect us, as much as they have
‘ lately despised us. His present Majesty may be
‘ made the greatest and most glorious Prince that
‘ ever sat upon the *British* throne; but if our war-
‘ like measures should still be interrupted, or ren-
‘ dered languid, by that spirit of negotiation which
‘ has so long prevailed, the opportunity will soon
‘ be lost; and if it should, God forgive them that
‘ shall be the cause of so much reproach to their
‘ Sovereign, and of such irretrievable hurt and
‘ ignominy to their country.

‘ In the present war, my Lords, we have as yet
‘ no occasion for any allies: I do not know that we
‘ shall; but if we should, we may still find great

‘ and powerful allies in *Europe*. The power of
‘ the house of *Austria* is not yet become so despi-
‘ cable, as our advocates for peace have endeavour-
‘ ed to represent; and I hope no man in *Britain* is
‘ now afraid of the overgrown power of that house.
‘ It was never in this kingdom a national jealousy,
‘ nor could it ever be made so, notwithstanding
‘ the great pains that were taken, a few years since,
‘ to inculcate and propagate such a jealousy through
‘ all parts of his Majesty’s dominions. The Em-
‘ peror, therefore, may still be a most useful ally
‘ to us, and certainly would be so, if we were in
‘ any real danger; because we shall always be a
‘ most useful ally to him, when the balance of
‘ power is in danger, at least, I am sure, we ought
‘ to be so. The King of *Prussia* likewise is a power
‘ whose alliance we may always depend on, if we
‘ follow right measures; and another power, which
‘ is now as formidable as any in *Europe*, will al-
‘ ways, I believe, be fond of cultivating a close
‘ alliance and friendship with this nation. Even
‘ the *Dutch*, I believe, might easily be brought in
‘ to pursue more vigorous measures than they have
‘ done of late years. But these things are not to
‘ be done by negotiation. They are to be done
‘ by vigorous measures on our side, especially in
‘ those affairs that particularly regard ourselves.
‘ If we shew the powers of *Europe*, that we dare
‘ resent our wrongs, and vindicate our rights, and
‘ that we can do it in a wise and vigorous manner:
‘ If we shew them, that we can stand upon our
‘ own legs, they will apply to us; they will court
‘ our favour, because they will from thence see,
‘ we can give them assistance. A nation, like a
‘ private man, must in vain expect assistance from
‘ its neighbours, if they believe it cannot help it-
‘ self. Notwithstanding the great pains taken by
‘ some of our late dealers in negotiation, to make
‘ the world, as well as ourselves, believe, that we
‘ are

‘ are in a weak and helpless condition; I hope we
‘ shall now shew, that we are still able to make the
‘ proudest nation in *Europe* repent her having da-
‘ red to insult us.

‘ The hypothesis of our politicks is now, I
‘ hope, quite altered. We are now, my Lords, I
‘ hope, upon a right hypothesis; and if that hy-
‘ pothesis be vigorously and steadily pursued, no
‘ matter by whom; for it is not men, but the hy-
‘ pothesis of our late conduct, that I have found
‘ fault with. If the same men should alter the
‘ course of their measures: If they should lay down
‘ a right hypothesis, and follow that hypothesis in
‘ a proper manner, I shall be as ready to approve,
‘ as ever I was to blame their conduct. But if
‘ they have a mind to alter their conduct in time
‘ to come, they will forget, they must even ap-
‘ prove of the opposition that was made to their
‘ conduct in time past; and therefore, they will be
‘ far from presuming to say, that the authors of
‘ that opposition were fomenters of heats and ani-
‘ mosities, or that there is now subsisting any di-
‘ vision in the nation. There is really no such
‘ thing now amongst us, nor can there be any such
‘ thing in the course of the present war, if it be
‘ carried on with a design to revenge us, and not
‘ with a design only to amuse us. Therefore, I
‘ was surprized to hear any thing of divisions and
‘ animosities mentioned in his Majesty’s speech,
‘ but I am much more surprized to hear our divi-
‘ sions and animosities made a part of a motion in
‘ this house, and that by a noble Lord, who at
‘ the same time says, he has taken all possible care
‘ to avoid inserting in his motion, any thing that
‘ may occasion the least objection or difficulty, and
‘ that he most heartily wishes we should be unani-
‘ mous upon the present occasion.

‘ But suppose, my Lords, there had been any
‘ real divisions and animosities amongst us: Sup-

‘ pose these divisions and animosities were still sub-
 ‘ sisting; would it be right in us to publish it to the
 ‘ world? Our enemies are apt enough to say we are
 ‘ a factious and divided people: We find they do
 ‘ say so; and they will certainly endeavour to propa-
 ‘ gate that opinion among those who incline to be
 ‘ our friends. Shall we then, by an address, which,
 ‘ we know, will be published in all the foreign
 ‘ Gazettes, give the world good ground to believe
 ‘ so? Will not this encourage those who are already
 ‘ our declared enemies to prolong the war? Will
 ‘ it not encourage those who are as yet our secret
 ‘ enemies to declare openly against us? Will it not
 ‘ discourage our friends from giving us any assis-
 ‘ tance? If we should come to stand in need of
 ‘ any alliance, there is nothing, in my opinion,
 ‘ can be more effectually done for preventing its
 ‘ being in our power to procure one; therefore, I
 ‘ hope, the noble Lord will agree to leave out of
 ‘ his motion every expression that may seem to
 ‘ insinuate, as if there were divisions and animosi-
 ‘ ties still subsisting amongst us, especially since
 ‘ those expressions must be look’d on as a reflexion
 ‘ upon Lords who have, upon former occasions,
 ‘ happened to differ from him in opinion, and con-
 ‘ sequently must occasion an opposition to a motion
 ‘ which would otherwise be unanimously agreed to.
 ‘ These, my Lords, are my thoughts upon the
 ‘ present occasion. It was incumbent upon me to
 ‘ offer them to your Lordships; but I shall make
 ‘ no motion, till I see how other Lords think,
 ‘ with regard to the motion now under our confi-
 ‘ deration.’

The next that spoke was the Duke of *Newcastle*,
 the purport of whose speech was as follows, *viz.*

Duke of
Newcastle's
 speech,

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ I shall be heartily glad to see the resolution we
 ‘ come

‘ come to upon this occasion unanimously agreed
‘ to, but I would not have us, even for the sake
‘ of unanimity, be guilty of any sort of disrespect
‘ to his Majesty. As he has mentioned, and, I
‘ think, properly and seasonably mentioned divi-
‘ sions, heats, and animosities, we ought, in respect
‘ to him, to make some sort of answer to that part
‘ of his speech; and, in my opinion, we cannot
‘ make a more proper answer, than what the noble
‘ Lord has been pleased to propose. That there
‘ have been divisions amongst us, and that those
‘ divisions have been fomented, and even carried
‘ the length of heats and animosities, is what, I
‘ think, no man can deny. I beg pardon, my
‘ Lords, I do not mean in this house, or among
‘ your Lordships. Your Lordships may differ in
‘ opinion, and you may support your respective
‘ opinions with fervency and zeal. I know you
‘ always will, because you have the good of your
‘ country sincerely at heart. But your Lordships
‘ support your opinions with temper and discretion,
‘ and never allow a difference in opinion, to trans-
‘ port you into any heat or animosity.

‘ This, my Lords, has been, this, I hope, will
‘ always be, the laudable behaviour of your Lord-
‘ ships, both within doors and without; but this
‘ cannot be said of the rest of the nation. Their
‘ differences in opinion may sometimes flow from
‘ a difference that has arisen in this house: They
‘ may follow your Lordships in their differences,
‘ but few of them know how to imitate you in
‘ temper and moderation. This is the cause that
‘ differences in opinion, about matters of a publick
‘ nature, often create divisions among the people
‘ without doors; and those who are disaffected to
‘ his Majesty’s person and government, always
‘ endeavour to nurse these divisions up into heats
‘ and animosities, and too often succeed in their
‘ attempts. Whatever is said, therefore, in his

‘ Majesty’s speech from the throne, whatever may
‘ be said in your address, about divisions, heats or
‘ animosities, can relate only to the people with-
‘ out doors: It can no way relate to your Lord-
‘ ships, and consequently no Lord in this house
‘ can have reason to think himself reflected on by
‘ any such expression, either in his Majesty’s speech,
‘ or in our address.

‘ But suppose, my Lords, there never had been,
‘ nor were now, any such thing as divisions, heats
‘ or animosities in the nation, yet as such misfor-
‘ tunes are too frequent in every free country, it
‘ was right in his Majesty to caution us against
‘ them. It was a most seasonable advice upon the
‘ breaking out of a war, which may be heavy,
‘ dangerous, and tedious, though it has at present
‘ the appearance of not being so. The noble Lord
‘ that spoke last, expressed a great regard for the
‘ late King *William*. I shall readily join with him
‘ in testifying my esteem for that great Prince;
‘ and therefore, I must approve of his Majesty’s
‘ giving us a caution at this juncture against heats
‘ and animosities, because King *William* did the
‘ same upon a like occasion. That Prince, in his
‘ last speech to his Parliament, when war against
‘ *France* and *Spain* was resolved on, though not
‘ then declared, recommended it particularly to his
‘ Parliament to avoid all manner of disputes and
‘ differences, and to lay aside those unhappy fatal
‘ animosities, which divided and weakened this
‘ nation. For this reason, if the example of King
‘ *William* can be of any weight, and, I must think
‘ it ought, we must approve of the advice his
‘ Majesty has given us upon this occasion, and if
‘ we approve of it, we ought to say something in
‘ return.

‘ In this, my Lords, his Majesty has done no
‘ more than follow the example of King *William*,
‘ and as he equals that Prince in many other vir-
‘ tues,

‘ tues, so he equals him in a true regard for the
‘ glory and happiness of his kingdoms, which, I
‘ am convinced, will be manifested in a prudent
‘ and vigorous prosecution of the present war.
‘ King *William*, in my opinion, and, I believe, in
‘ the opinion of every man that hears me, judged
‘ right when he supposed that the *Indies* was the
‘ proper place for carrying on a war against *Spain*.
‘ His present Majesty we may suppose, from what
‘ he says in his speech, to be of the same opinion.
‘ He has told us that he has augmented his forces
‘ by sea and land, as the necessary means of dis-
‘ tressing and annoying our enemies *in the most sen-*
‘ *sible parts*, by which he certainly means the *In-*
‘ *dies*; and, I believe, no man supposes that we
‘ ought to exhaust our strength in attacking any
‘ of their dominions in *Europe*. We may, there-
‘ fore, suppose, that his Majesty will certainly
‘ push the war against *Spain* with the greatest vi-
‘ gour in the *Indies*; and if he had occasion for it,
‘ he would as certainly make stipulations in every
‘ alliance he enters into, for our keeping possession
‘ of the conquests we may make in that part of
‘ the world. It was necessary for King *William*
‘ to make such a stipulation in the alliance he at
‘ that time concluded with the Emperor, because
‘ by that alliance the dominions of *Spain* were to
‘ be given to a branch of the house of *Austria*.
‘ But as his present Majesty has no such design,
‘ he has no occasion for any such stipulation. If
‘ we now make any conquests in that part of the
‘ world, as I hope we shall, no ally we can have
‘ in the present war, will have a right to prevent
‘ our keeping possession of what we conquer:
‘ Whereas, by the alliance we then entered into,
‘ the Emperor would have had a right to prevent
‘ it, if it had not been for that stipulation.

‘ I do not see, my Lords, how any of our for-
‘ mer measures can be properly brought under our

‘ consideration in this debate. I wish we could all
‘ forget our differences about past measures, and
‘ heartily unite in such measures for the time to
‘ come, as may redound to the glory and advan-
‘ tage of our country. But as the noble Lord that
‘ spoke last, was pleased to throw out some things
‘ that may be look’d on as reflections on our past
‘ measures, I think it incumbent upon me, con-
‘ sidering the post in which I have the honour to
‘ serve his Majesty, to say something in their justi-
‘ fication. I have approved of our publick mea-
‘ sures, my Lords, for several years past: I still
‘ approve of them: Nay, I so much approve of
‘ them, that if any one of them had been other-
‘ wise than it was, I am convinced, I should have
‘ disapproved of it. The noble Lord has found
‘ fault with several of our measures: He has par-
‘ ticularly, upon this occasion, found fault with
‘ our negotiations for preventing a war, which of
‘ all others, are, in my opinion, the most justifi-
‘ ble. His Majesty, out of his tender regard to
‘ his people, was resolved, if possible, to avoid a
‘ war: He endeavoured as much as he could, to
‘ obtain redress by peaceable means. For this pur-
‘ pose it was necessary to negotiate; and from the
‘ same motive he continued to negotiate, as long
‘ as there were any hopes of success. I hope the
‘ noble Lord would not have had us declare war
‘ before we demanded redress; and we could not,
‘ in justice, declare war, as long as we had reason
‘ to believe our demand would be complied with.
‘ Our negotiations were not altogether fruitless:
‘ They procured a convention, by which, if *Spain*
‘ had been sincere, an open rupture might have
‘ been avoided; for I must still approve of that
‘ convention: I must still think, we acted prudent-
‘ ly in agreeing to it. Reparation for our damages
‘ was thereby expressly promised; and, if that
‘ promise had been fulfilled, the other articles in
‘ dispute

‘ dispute might have been easily adjusted. But
‘ when the court of *Spain* refused to comply with
‘ what they so solemnly promised, then, and not
‘ till then, it became in vain to negotiate; and
‘ then his Majesty, according to the advice of his
‘ Parliament, resolved upon forcible means, for
‘ obtaining that which he saw he could no longer
‘ expect to obtain by negotiation.

‘ Trade, my Lords, is our chief support: Even
‘ the noble Lord who spoke last, has acknowledg-
‘ ed it to be so; therefore, it is necessary for us to
‘ avoid war as much as possible; for our trade must
‘ suffer by every war we can be engaged in. It
‘ must of course occasion an entire stop to our trade
‘ with that nation against which we happen to be
‘ engaged, and this breaks the chain of the general
‘ trade we carry on; for our trade with every na-
‘ tion depends, in some measure, upon our trade
‘ with every other nation where we carry on any
‘ commerce. Besides, our trade must suffer in
‘ every branch, by the privateers of that nation
‘ we are at war with; for it is impossible so to co-
‘ ver the ocean with cruisers, as to prevent their
‘ sending out privateers; and, if they have any
‘ such at sea, our merchant-ships cannot proceed
‘ safely on their voyage without convoy, which is
‘ always a great expence, and often occasions a
‘ disappointment to the merchant. To which I
‘ must add, that a war with *Spain* must always
‘ be more injurious to our trade, than a war with
‘ any other nation in *Europe*; because of the great
‘ trade our merchants carry on in that kingdom,
‘ either in their own or in borrowed names, and
‘ because of that country’s lying so convenient for
‘ interrupting, by their privateers, our trade with
‘ *Portugal, Turkey, Italy, Africa*, and with our
‘ own plantations in *America*.

‘ No man therefore, my Lords, who considers
‘ these things, can, in my opinion, blame our en-
‘ deavouring

‘ deav ouring to avoid a war with *Spain*, by
‘ means of a negotiation. We were in the right
‘ to negotiate as long as we had the least hopes
‘ left of obtaining satisfaction in that way. If
‘ his Majesty had plunged the nation into a war,
‘ upon the first insult offered by *Spain*, I am con-
‘ vinced we should then have had as much said,
‘ and I am sure with more reason, against a rash
‘ and precipitate war, as we have lately heard
‘ against long and tedious negotiations. The in-
‘ conveniencies and losses our trade was exposed
‘ to by a war, would have been set forth with
‘ great vehemence: The advantage of our trade
‘ with *Spain*, would have been magnified to a
‘ high degree; and the prudence of waiting a
‘ more favourable conjuncture for obtaining re-
‘ dress from that crown, might have been with
‘ justice insisted on; because, as it is the interest
‘ of that nation not to fall out with us, it was
‘ reasonable to expect, that a change of measures
‘ at that court, or a change in their administration,
‘ would have put an end to their injurious treat-
‘ ment of us, and would have inclined them to
‘ give ear to a friendly accommodation.

‘ But, my Lords, as his Majesty, like a tender
‘ father, was loth to engage his people in a war,
‘ which must be fatal to some of them, and pre-
‘ judicial to great numbers; as he endeavoured to
‘ prevent a war by negotiation, as long as there
‘ were any hopes left of succeeding in that way,
‘ those who are resolved to find fault with the
‘ conduct of our publick affairs, (which, I am
‘ sure, is not the case with regard to any of your
‘ Lordships) have now nothing to say, but against
‘ our negotiations, which have, indeed, at last
‘ failed of the wished for success; but this, I am
‘ sure, no man could foresee. Before the end of
‘ *May* last, no man could pretend to say, that
‘ this would be the event. As soon as this hap-
‘ pened

‘ pened to be the case, his Majesty began to pre-
‘ pare for war, and took the first opportunity to
‘ commence hostilities ; and we have, at least,
‘ gained this advantage from our negotiations,
‘ that all the powers of *Europe* must now see we
‘ have justice of our side, because we did not of-
‘ fer to attack them, till they had broke through
‘ one of the most solemn and explicit stipulations
‘ that one nation can make with another. The
‘ other powers of *Europe* could not easily, or
‘ perhaps would not be at the pains to understand
‘ the disputes between the *Spaniards* and us about
‘ searching our ships on the seas, or about our re-
‘ spective rights and limits on the continent or in
‘ the islands of *America* ; but every power in *Eu-*
‘ *rope* must understand, and must look on their
‘ refusing to pay the 95,000*l.* stipulated by the
‘ convention, as an open and notorious violation
‘ of faith.

‘ His Majesty’s declaration of war has, ’tis
‘ true, put an end to those clamours that were
‘ raised against our peaceable negotiations ; but I
‘ am afraid, my Lords, it has not put an end to
‘ our divisions. Those who in time of peace
‘ cried out for war, cannot certainly find fault
‘ with the declaration of war. This would ren-
‘ der them ridiculous ; but I am afraid, the same
‘ spirit that prompted them to find fault with our
‘ peaceable negotiations, will prompt them to
‘ find fault with our warlike operations ; and the
‘ very nature of the thing must furnish them
‘ with a greater abundance of materials for com-
‘ plaint. In time of war some cross accidents
‘ must happen : The best concerted schemes may
‘ fail of success : The former will be ascribed, by
‘ the malicious, to want of care, and the latter
‘ to want of conduct. The noble Lord who
‘ spoke last has, indeed, with his usual candour,
‘ declared, that if the plan be right, he will not
‘ find

‘ find fault with the event, therefore, I do not
‘ question our having his approbation in every
‘ step of our future conduct; and as we have
‘ justice on our side, and may consequently expect
‘ the protection of divine Providence, I hope the
‘ most malicious will have but very little room to
‘ find fault. We have already met with some
‘ success; which, in all probability, will soon be
‘ followed by others: We have failed in no at-
‘ tempt but one, and that was so visibly occa-
‘ sioned by contrary winds and storms, that no
‘ man can have the assurance to impute it to any
‘ defect in our conduct. At the same time, so
‘ great care has been taken to provide for our
‘ safety at home, and for the protection of our
‘ dominions and trade abroad, that we are in no
‘ great danger of being attack’d in any part of
‘ our dominions; and considering the extensive
‘ trade we carry on, and the vast number of ships
‘ our merchants have at sea, so few of them have
‘ fallen into the hands of our enemies, and all
‘ this has been done with so much prudence and
‘ œconomy, that the most fertile malice cannot,
‘ I think, invent an objection against our conduct
‘ since the commencement of the war.

‘ I shall join with the noble Lord in saying,
‘ that it is our business to make this, as well as
‘ every other war we engage in, as short as possi-
‘ ble, and, I hope, the war we are now engaged
‘ in will not be of any long duration. It cannot
‘ continue long, if *Spain* gets no assistance from
‘ any other power in *Europe*. We have already
‘ provided, I hope sufficiently provided, for our
‘ defence, which was certainly the first thing ne-
‘ cessary. We are now to provide for attacking
‘ the enemy; and I make no doubt but that as
‘ soon as the season will permit, we shall be able
‘ to attack them in the proper place, with such a
‘ force as they cannot resist. Our negotiations to
‘ prevent

‘ prevent a war were, perhaps, more tedious than
‘ was agreeable to some people amongst us; but
‘ now the war is begun, I hope we shall be able
‘ to push it with such vigour and success, as must
‘ produce an honourable peace, before any man
‘ in the kingdom can have time to be tired of
‘ the war. As his Majesty has secured us, by an
‘ augmentation of his land forces, against the de-
‘ signs of our enemies at home, and, by covering
‘ the seas with his squadrons, against an attack
‘ from our enemies abroad, the *Spaniards* must soon
‘ find themselves disappointed in the hopes they
‘ had, of reaping advantage from our divisions;
‘ and being deprived of these hopes, when they
‘ see that we are ready to attack them in the most
‘ sensible part, and with an irresistible force, they
‘ will probably submit to reasonable terms. They
‘ must submit, unless they are sure of having the
‘ aid of a neighbouring power, for preventing
‘ that vengeance which will soon be ready to
‘ burst upon them.

‘ My Lords, the noble Lord that spoke last
‘ has allowed, that there is some danger of *France’s*
‘ declaring against us in the present war. He has
‘ allowed that *France* may sacrifice her trade to
‘ other views. I do not know that we are as yet
‘ in any danger from that quarter. I hope we are
‘ not; but no man can tell how soon we may;
‘ for notwithstanding the great age of the present
‘ prime minister of that kingdom, notwithstand-
‘ ing his present peaceable disposition, we cannot
‘ entirely trust to it. We know he can alter that
‘ disposition, when he finds it proper or necessary
‘ so to do. We know the animosity that has so
‘ long subsisted between that nation and this: We
‘ know the regard the people of *France* have for
‘ the Royal Family of *Spain*; and therefore the
‘ prime minister of that kingdom, notwithstand-
‘ ing the arbitrary form of their government,
‘ may,

‘ may, like the ministers in other countries, be
‘ forced to chime in with the general inclinations,
‘ perhaps the general whim, of his countrymen.
‘ Many things may induce the *French* to alter
‘ their present measures, and as their King is ab-
‘ solute master within his dominions, the effects
‘ of that alteration may, and probably will be in-
‘ stantaneous, and may be fatal to us, if we are
‘ not fully provided against them. On this ac-
‘ count it is prudent, it is necessary for us to make
‘ more formidable preparations, and to put our-
‘ selves to a greater expence, than might, per-
‘ haps, be necessary, if we were sure of having
‘ none but the *Spaniards* to deal with.

‘ But this, my Lords, is far from being the
‘ case. We cannot depend upon the counsels of
‘ any foreign nation. The only sure method we
‘ have for preventing an alteration in their coun-
‘ sels with regard to us, is to prevent its being in
‘ their power to hurt us, by providing sufficiently
‘ for our defence at land, as well as by sea; and
‘ as the court of *France* is nearly allied with that
‘ of *Spain*, as the coast of *France* lies more con-
‘ venient for invading this kingdom than any
‘ other coast in *Europe*, we ought, in the present
‘ war, to provide against a sudden attack from
‘ thence, as well as against an attack from *Spain*.
‘ It is a little, I may say, diverting to observe the
‘ different opinions of some without doors at dif-
‘ ferent times. It is not many years since the
‘ power of *France* was represented in a terrible
‘ light: We were but a few years ago told, that
‘ the power of *France* was become dangerous to
‘ the liberties of *Europe*; and from thence an ar-
‘ gument was drawn for our engaging against that
‘ crown in a war, in which we had no immediate
‘ concern. I am sure the power of *France* is no
‘ way diminished since that time, nor can I think,
‘ that the power of this nation is any way in-
‘ creased;

‘ creased; and yet now, we are told, that the
‘ power of *France* is so inconsiderable, that even
‘ this nation alone has nothing to fear from the
‘ united power of *France* and *Spain*: And that
‘ *France*, by joining with *Spain* in the present
‘ war, may hurt herself but cannot hurt us.
‘ This way of talking is something strange; but
‘ I am no way surprized at it. We were then in
‘ peace, and our administration were against in-
‘ volving their country in war, unless *France*
‘ should push her conquests so far, as to endanger
‘ the liberties of *Europe*: We are now in war,
‘ and our administration think it necessary to pro-
‘ vide against *France*’s taking a share in the war
‘ against us. This is the sole cause of this diffe-
‘ rence in opinion, with regard to the power of
‘ *France*. Our administration have, for good
‘ reasons, altered their measures, and therefore
‘ those who oppose them must, without any rea-
‘ son, alter their opinions.

‘ I am far from accusing any Lord in this house
‘ of such a conduct. Your Lordships always form
‘ your opinions upon reasons that appear at least to
‘ you substantial; but this, my Lords, cannot be
‘ said of many without doors. The chief reason
‘ for the opinion they form, often seems to be,
‘ because the administration happens to be of an-
‘ other; and such a conduct must proceed from a
‘ spirit of division and animosity: I am sure, it
‘ does not proceed from a spirit that can, in any
‘ sense, be called rational. It must from thence
‘ appear, that there is a spirit of dissension and
‘ animosity reigning without doors; and those
‘ who are disaffected, will always endeavour to
‘ cultivate and improve that spirit as much as
‘ they can, especially at the beginning of a foreign
‘ war. This made it necessary for his Majesty,
‘ upon the present occasion, to caution us against
‘ heats and animosities, and for the same reason

‘ we ought to pay a due respect to that caution,
 ‘ not only in our address, but also in our future
 ‘ conduct. This ought to prevail with us, to be
 ‘ as unanimous as possible in all our future resolu-
 ‘ tions ; for, though no difference of opinion
 ‘ ever arises to any heat or animosity in this
 ‘ house, yet it adds fewel to those heats and
 ‘ animosities that are industriously fomented by
 ‘ the disaffected without doors ; and, as it cannot
 ‘ be supposed, that any of your Lordships are in
 ‘ the least concerned in those divisions, heats, or
 ‘ animosities that prevail without doors, therefore,
 ‘ I hope, the noble Lord’s motion will be unani-
 ‘ mously agreed to without any amendment.’

The Duke of *Bedford* rose up next, and spoke to this effect, *viz.*

‘ My Lords,

Duke of
Bedford’s
speech.

‘ As I have not the honour to have any share
 ‘ in his Majesty’s counsels, I cannot pretend to
 ‘ say, what is meant by the divisions, heats, and
 ‘ animosities mentioned in his Majesty’s speech
 ‘ from the throne ; but as that speech, and all
 ‘ such speeches are directed to the two houses of
 ‘ Parliament, the most obvious, and, I think,
 ‘ the most natural construction that can be put
 ‘ upon it is, that his Majesty means the divi-
 ‘ sions, heats, and animosities that have arisen in
 ‘ one or other house of Parliament. This is the
 ‘ construction, I am convinced, that will be put
 ‘ upon it by our people at home, and by our
 ‘ friends as well as enemies abroad ; and as his
 ‘ Majesty can know nothing of these divisions,
 ‘ heats, or animosities, but by information, I am
 ‘ sure, those that have told him of there being
 ‘ any such thing in either house, have done no
 ‘ service to their King or country. No man can,
 ‘ with the least shadow of truth, say, there has
 ‘ been any such thing in Parliament ; and there-
 ‘ fore

fore I must think, that those who have given his Majesty such a false information, if they are not guilty of treason, they are at least guilty of a very high misdemeanor. It is a misrepresentation of the Parliament to the King, which may be attended with consequences fatal to the nation, and therefore must be a crime of a most heinous nature. What then shall we be guilty of, if by any words in our address, we confirm this misrepresentation that has been made of us to his Majesty? Will it not make his Majesty, as well as every person without doors, both abroad and at home, be convinced, that there have been great heats and animosities in Parliament, and that those heats and animosities are far from being allayed or alleviated? What an encouragement will this be to our enemies, what a disconsolation to our friends?

Surely every Lord that hears me must be conscious, that there have been no heats or animosities in this house, and I have heard of none in the other. Even with regard to the people without doors; I cannot think, my Lords, there is the least ground for saying, there is any division or animosity among them. I am sure it cannot be said, there is any number of men in the nation, that disapprove of the war his Majesty has declared against *Spain*. I have not lately been in many parts of the country, but here in *London* there never was a measure more universally approved of, by all ranks and degrees of men. The people have shewn their approbation by every method they could think of; and I do not think, that a measure so highly approved of in and about the city of *London*, can meet with any censure or opposition in the country.

What circumstances the nation was in, towards the latter end of King *William's* reign, I

cannot at present, my Lords, take upon me fully to explain; but I remember two or three circumstances, which make our case very different now, from what it was then. But three or four months before that Prince made the speech to his Parliament, which the noble Duke has been pleased to mention, the late unfortunate King *James* having died at *St. Germans* in *France*, his son was publickly proclaimed King of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, at *St. Germans*, and solemnly and openly acknowledged as such by the King of *France*, which was a good reason for King *William's* admonishing his Parliament to beware of divisions and animosities, and a reason which does not now subsist. This, I say, was a good reason; but there was still a much stronger. In the very session of Parliament immediately preceding that which he opened with the speech the noble Duke has mentioned, there had been great contests, and great heats and animosities in both houses: Several noble Lords who were the King's chief ministers and favourites, and who had done signal services to their country, had been impeached by the house of Commons, which not only raised heats and animosities in each house, but occasioned a sort of breach between the two; and was, perhaps, the occasion of dissolving that Parliament about the end of the ensuing summer. To this I may add, that even as to the war then about to be entered into, there were great divisions in the nation; some being for entering into it as auxiliaries only, and some for entering into it as principals: Nay, the party for the former of these two methods was so numerous and powerful, that had it not been for the indignity put upon these kingdoms by the *French* King, as I have just mentioned, the nation

‘ tion could hardly have been prevailed on to
‘ enter into the war as principals.

‘ King *William*, therefore, had some reason to
‘ caution his Parliament, being a new one which
‘ he had no experience of, against those heats
‘ and animosities that had actually happened in
‘ the former; but surely, my Lords, no such
‘ reason exists at present. His Majesty has had
‘ several years experience of this Parliament:
‘ There have been no heats or animosities in Par-
‘ liament: There has been no animosity among
‘ the people, but a very general one against *Spain*,
‘ and as general a one against the tameness with
‘ which our ministers bore the insults of that na-
‘ tion. The latter is now put an end to by his
‘ Majesty’s declaration of war: The former, I
‘ hope, will continue till we have fully revenged
‘ ourselves of our enemies. By divisions, heats, and
‘ animosities, nothing can be meant but the oppo-
‘ sition which the people in general, and many
‘ members of both houses of Parliament, have
‘ shewn, and the indignation with which they
‘ have treated the late peaceful negotiating hu-
‘ mour of our ministers; and to call that oppo-
‘ sition a division, or to complain of its being car-
‘ ried on with heat or animosity, is throwing an
‘ unjust reflexion upon the whole nation, and
‘ upon many members of both houses, merely for
‘ the sake of making a compliment to our mi-
‘ nisters, which, I hope, this house will give no
‘ countenance to; and therefore, I think we ought
‘ to avoid saying any thing in our address about
‘ divisions, heats, or animosities. I am sure, if
‘ the noble Lord intends to have his motion una-
‘ nimously agreed to, he will take the advice that
‘ has been offered, and leave out of his motion,
‘ every one of those expressions that have been
‘ objected to.’

The next that rose up, was the Lord *Talbot*, who spoke in substance thus :

Lord *Talbot's*
speech.

‘ My Lords,

‘ That there have been heats and animosities amongst us I shall admit, but they are now wisely put an end to; and I shall beg leave to shew, how they were occasioned, and in what manner they have been put an end to. If we look back upon the conduct of our publick affairs for almost these twenty years, we may easily find the cause of all our heats and animosities: We may justly admire, that they have not been more violent, and more fatal to those that were the cause of them. We have been, during that long period, in what some amongst us are pleased to call a state of tranquillity; but that tranquillity has been attended with all the expence, and almost all the misfortunes of a real war, without a chance of reaping any of that glory, or any of those advantages, that may be reaped by open hostilities. We have been negotiating when we ought to have been fighting, and we have been concluding treaties with those, against whom we ought to have declared war; and to render those negotiations effectual, or to enforce the observance of those treaties, we have been keeping up expensive armies, that have raised terrors among our own people at home, because they could not guess for what they were designed, and fitting out expensive squadrons, that have raised no terrors among our enemies abroad, because, I suppose, they very well knew for what they were designed.

‘ This, my Lords, is a summary of our conduct for almost these twenty years past; and such a conduct could not, in my opinion, fail of begetting heats and animosities at home, as well as
‘ contempt

‘ contempt and infamy abroad; but to make this
‘ the more evidently appear, I must examine into
‘ some of the particular steps of our conduct, and
‘ for that purpose, shall begin with the famous
‘ treaty of *Hanover*; for, I think, I need go no
‘ farther back at present. In the beginning of the
‘ year 1725, the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*
‘ thought fit, by themselves, to accommodate all
‘ the differences that subsisted between them, and
‘ to conclude treaties of peace, commerce, and
‘ guaranty, in which there was not any one article
‘ contrary to the treaties that either of them had
‘ made with us. What offence we could take at
‘ this step in either of these courts, I do not know:
‘ Nay, suppose it had been true, that they had
‘ concluded such a private treaty as was represent-
‘ ed, we had no occasion for taking any extraor-
‘ dinary measures against it; because the Emperor
‘ having no naval force, he could give *Spain* no
‘ assistance against us. However, we allowed our-
‘ selves to be so much alarmed, that the same year
‘ we concluded at *Hanover* an alliance with *France*,
‘ which, I am sure, is the last nation in *Europe* we
‘ ought to enter into an alliance with; and the
‘ whole nation was terrified with an invasion in fa-
‘ vour of the Pretender, though every one knew,
‘ that the Emperor and *Spain*, joined together,
‘ could not fit out such a naval force, as would
‘ have been equal to that which we can, at any
‘ time, fit out upon a week’s notice.

‘ But we did not rest here, my Lords: We did
‘ not satisfy ourselves with providing, by such an
‘ alliance, for our defence: The very next year,
‘ we raised armies and fitted out squadrons, as if
‘ we had been to attack those whom we thus re-
‘ presented to be our enemies. We sent one pow-
‘ erful squadron to the *Baltick*, another to the
‘ coasts of *Spain* in *Europe*, and a third to their
‘ coasts in *America*. At the same time we aug-

‘ mented our army to above 26,000 men; and
‘ the whole nation expected that our enemies
‘ would have been made to suffer severely for the
‘ ridiculous designs they had formed against us.
‘ But our armies and squadrons produced no other
‘ effect than to load our own people with expences,
‘ and to make *Spain* begin actual hostilities against
‘ us, by seizing all our merchants effects they could
‘ find in their dominions, by fitting out privateers
‘ and taking all our trading ships they could meet
‘ with at sea, and by laying siege to *Gibraltar*.

‘ Though we had at first, my Lords, no pro-
‘ vocation for attacking *Spain*, yet these hostilities
‘ were, surely, a good reason for declaring war a-
‘ gainst them; and, by the treaties we made, and
‘ the subsidies we engaged to pay, it look’d as if
‘ we really designed to do so; for after near a
‘ year’s negotiation, we got the *Dutch* to accede
‘ to the treaty of *Hanover*, under many conditions
‘ and restrictions: In about eighteen months we
‘ obtained a promise from the Landgrave of *Hesse*,
‘ to keep in readiness for our service 12,000 men,
‘ for which we engaged to pay him 125,000 *l.*
‘ *Sterling*, which was continued to him for several
‘ years, though his troops were never employed
‘ in our service: About the same time, we obtain-
‘ ed the accession of *Sweden* to the *Hanover* trea-
‘ ty, under condition of paying them a yearly
‘ subsidy of 50,000 *l.* for three years certain, one
‘ half of which was to be paid by *France*: In a-
‘ bout nineteen months we obtained the accession
‘ of *Denmark*, under condition of paying them a
‘ large subsidy for four years certain, which was
‘ all to have been paid by *France*, though we af-
‘ terwards thought ourselves obliged to pay a part
‘ of it: And upon the 25th of *November*, 1727,
‘ we obtained the alliance and guaranty of the
‘ Duke of *Wolfenbottle*, upon condition of paying
‘ him 25,000 *l.* yearly, for four years certain. By
‘ all

‘ all these preparations, negotiations, and alliances,
‘ I say, my Lords, it look’d as if we had, at that
‘ time, really a design to declare war against *Spain*,
‘ and to revenge our selves fully, for all the insults
‘ they had put upon the nation; but this was far
‘ from being the case: Our armies, as well those
‘ at home, as those we paid so dear for abroad,
‘ remained quiet in their respective native countries,
‘ and our squadrons continued inactive upon the
‘ coasts of *Spain*, at the very time they were be-
‘ sieging *Gibraltar*, and making prize of every one
‘ of our merchant-ships they could meet with at
‘ sea. Instead of declaring war, or committing
‘ hostilities, against *Spain*, we were treating and
‘ negotiating with them, or at least with the Em-
‘ peror on their behalf; for the court of *Spain* it-
‘ self carried it at that time so high, and held us
‘ in such contempt, that they would not so much
‘ as treat with us; and in *May*, 1737, preliminary
‘ articles were concluded at *Paris*, between the
‘ *Hanover* allies and the Emperor, by which we
‘ promised, that all hostilities should on our side
‘ immediately cease, though *Spain* was no contract-
‘ ing party in this preliminary treaty; which pro-
‘ mise we religiously kept, though *Spain* refused
‘ to agree to the preliminaries, and continued ho-
‘ stilities for near a year longer, when, by the in-
‘ tervention of the *French* Ambassador at *Madrid*,
‘ we obtained from *Spain* a convention for the ex-
‘ ecution of those preliminaries, in pursuance of
‘ which, a congress was appointed; but this con-
‘ gress was rendered abortive, by our joining in a
‘ new alliance with *France* and *Spain* against the
‘ Emperor, by the famous treaty of *Seville*.

‘ By this treaty, my Lords, we had got of our
‘ side, almost all the powers of *Europe* that have
‘ any naval force, so that we could have no pre-
‘ tence for fitting out a squadron with any warlike
‘ intention; but this did not prevent our putting

‘ ourselves to the expence of fitting out one. In
‘ order to pay a compliment to the *Spanish* court,
‘ we sent a squadron of above twenty men of war,
‘ all capital ships, to the *Mediterranean*, in the
‘ year 1731, to conduct the infant *Don Carlos* to
‘ *Italy*; and this we did, when they were erecting
‘ forts and batteries against our town and bay of
‘ *Gibraltar*, and committing many depredations
‘ upon our merchants in the *West-Indies*; which
‘ we took no notice of, though strong representa-
‘ tions had been made, by our people at *Gibraltar*,
‘ against the former, and an application had been
‘ made to Parliament, by our merchants, against
‘ the latter. Nay, though the court of *Spain* had
‘ evaded making that reparation for past injuries,
‘ which they had promised by the treaty of *Seville*,
‘ we took no effectual notice of it. We contented
‘ ourselves with sending commissaries to wrangle
‘ and dispute about the injuries we had suffered
‘ before that treaty, and with ordering our minister
‘ at that court to present long, perplexed memorials
‘ against those we suffered afterwards.

‘ This, my Lords, was the state of affairs be-
‘ tween *Spain* and us in the year 1733, when they
‘ attacked our ally, the Emperor, in *Italy*, with
‘ those very troops which we had assisted them to
‘ carry thither, and at a time when, from the many
‘ evasions they had before made use of, we had
‘ no reason to expect any satisfaction from them by
‘ peaceable means. If we were, at that time, un-
‘ der no obligation, or if we had no inclination to
‘ assist the Emperor, yet surely our own interest
‘ should have inclined us to take that opportunity
‘ of declaring war against *Spain*, if they refused to
‘ give us the most ample reparation for our former
‘ losses, and absolute security against our being ex-
‘ posed to any such for the future; but instead of
‘ this, our commissaries and minister continued so-
‘ liciting at the court of *Spain* for that which we
‘ might,

‘ might, with great justice, and then probably with
‘ great success, have insisted peremptorily upon;
‘ and the Emperor, for want of that assistance
‘ which he thought he was, by treaties, intitled to
‘ from his allies, was at last obliged to submit to
‘ those terms which were prescribed to him by his
‘ enemies.

‘ Whilst the war continued, my Lords, the
‘ *Spaniards*, ’tis true, put a sort of stop to their
‘ depredations in the *West-Indies*, and entertained
‘ our ministers with some hopes of a final adjust-
‘ ment; but no sooner was the war over than, as
‘ might have been easily foreseen, they began to
‘ renew their depredations with fresh vigour in the
‘ *West-Indies*, and, I suppose, they plainly told us,
‘ that they would give no farther satisfaction than
‘ they had done, with regard to any of our losses
‘ sustained since the treaty of *Seville*; for, I do not
‘ find, that it was ever afterwards seriously insisted
‘ on: I am sure, the sum stipulated by the late
‘ convention, was so far from being any satisfaction
‘ for those losses, that it was not near equal to the
‘ losses our merchants have sustained, by depreda-
‘ tions committed since the concluding of that
‘ treaty.

‘ Thus, my Lords, we lost all the advantages
‘ we might have reaped from the war between
‘ *Spain* and the Emperor, and I am afraid we lost
‘ a great deal of our character into the bargain;
‘ but, though we let slip that opportunity for vin-
‘ dicating the honour, and securing the trade of
‘ the nation, we took care to lay hold of it for
‘ putting the nation to an extraordinary expence,
‘ by raising armies, fitting out squadrons, forming
‘ alliances, and engaging to pay subsidies. Soon
‘ after the war broke out, we encreased our land
‘ force to near 27,000 men; and for augmenting
‘ our naval force, we encreased the number of
‘ seamen, employed in his Majesty’s service, to
‘ 30,000:

‘ 30,000: We sent a minister extraordinary to
‘ *Holland*, though we knew that the States General
‘ had before concluded with *France*, a treaty of
‘ neutrality; and in *September*, 1734, we concluded
‘ a treaty with the King of *Denmark*, by which
‘ we engaged to pay him an annual subsidy of up-
‘ wards of 56,000*l. Sterling* for three years certain.
‘ From these extraordinary warlike preparations,
‘ and most extraordinary expences, the people
‘ supposed that we were to exert ourselves in the
‘ most vigorous manner, for retrieving an antient
‘ ally from the distress he was then in, for pro-
‘ curing justice to our injured merchants, and for
‘ vindicating the honour, and securing the trade
‘ of the nation; but the Emperor, it seems, knew
‘ better, and therefore he submitted to the hard
‘ terms that were offered him by his enemies,
‘ which threw the affairs of *Europe* into a situation,
‘ perhaps the most unfortunate that they ever were
‘ in for this nation.

‘ Upon this, my Lords, we disbanded the ad-
‘ ditional forces we had raised both by sea and
‘ land, and seemed to think we had nothing more
‘ to do; for, though the depredations of the *Spa-*
‘ *niards* upon our merchants, and their insults up-
‘ on the nation, in the *West-Indies*, were now be-
‘ come more frequent, and more open, than they
‘ had ever been before, it seemed to give us no
‘ real concern. We took no step for redressing
‘ these grievances, or for protecting our trade, till
‘ an application to Parliament by our merchants,
‘ two years ago, made it necessary for some per-
‘ sons to take a little more notice of their just com-
‘ plaints. We then again began to make some
‘ warlike preparations: We raised an additional
‘ number of 10,000 seamen; and we sent one
‘ squadron to the *West-Indies*, and another to the
‘ *Mediterranean*. But still we trusted to our fa-
‘ vourite, though, by experience, so often found
‘ to

‘ to be ineffectual, methods of negotiation: Our
‘ squadrons did nothing, but our negotiators, ’tis
‘ true, did something: They procured us that fa-
‘ mous convention, which we had before us last
‘ session of Parliament, and which we have now
‘ found to be as frivolous, with regard to this na-
‘ tion at least, as the other treaties we had before
‘ entered into with *Spain*; and thus, all our nego-
‘ tiations and treaties have, at last, ended in a war,
‘ perhaps the most dangerous, I am sure the most
‘ unseasonable, that this nation was ever engaged
‘ in.

‘ I shall now, my Lords, give you a short ac-
‘ count of the charge the nation has been put to,
‘ by these warlike preparations, and pacifick mea-
‘ sures; but, in order to set this charge in the
‘ clearest light, I must observe, that if we kept no
‘ greater number of regular troops, nor any greater
‘ number of seamen, in our pay, than are necessary
‘ for our security in time of peace, I am convinced,
‘ the annual publick expence could never amount to
‘ above 1,500,000*l.* so that, by means of a land tax
‘ of two shillings in the pound, and the usual malt
‘ tax, instead of contracting a new debt yearly,
‘ which has been our case for many years, we
‘ should have been able to provide annually for
‘ the service of the year, and to pay off above
‘ 100,000*l.* yearly of our old debt; and, if all
‘ useless posts, and useless or extravagant salaries
‘ or perquisites, had been enquired into, and abo-
‘ lished or reduced, I am sure, it would have ad-
‘ ded a considerable sum to our annual savings.
‘ However, I shall wave taking notice of this last
‘ article of frugality, and state the necessary annual
‘ expence of the nation at 1,500,000*l.* in order,
‘ from thence, to compute the supra-charge that
‘ our warlike preparations, and unnecessary squa-
‘ drons and armies have cost us.

‘ Upon

‘ Upon computing the sums granted every year
 ‘ by Parliament, for the service of the ensuing
 ‘ year, I find, my Lords, that the first session, af-
 ‘ ter the famous treaty of *Hanover*, granted, for
 ‘ the service of the year 1726, 1,939,285 *l.* but
 ‘ this was not all that was expended in that year;
 ‘ for, by a vote of credit and confidence passed
 ‘ near the end of that session, his Majesty was im-
 ‘ powered to augment his forces both by land and
 ‘ sea, and to take such measures as the exigency
 ‘ of affairs might require; which power was ac-
 ‘ cordingly made use of, and therefore, by the
 ‘ next session, there was granted, for the service of
 ‘ the year 1727, and for deficiencies in the former
 ‘ year 2,980,801 *l.* For the service of the year
 ‘ 1728, there was granted 3,123,449 *l.* For 1729,
 ‘ 3,087,859 *l.* For 1730, 2,166,400 *l.* For 1731,
 ‘ 2,060,232 *l.* For 1732, (the tranquillity of *Eu-*
 ‘ *rope* being then, as some wise politicians amongst
 ‘ us judged, established upon a lasting foundation,
 ‘ though it was really upon a most precarious one,
 ‘ as soon after appeared) 1,743,359 *l.* For 1733,
 ‘ (the war between *France* and its allies of one side,
 ‘ and the Emperor of the other, having broke out
 ‘ in that year) 1,835,056 *l.* For 1734, 3,821,714 *l.*
 ‘ 1,200,000 *l.* of which was to be applied towards
 ‘ paying off so much of the debt of the navy, and
 ‘ 287,343 *l.* for the deficiency of the preceding
 ‘ year; but, as the war I have mentioned was then
 ‘ just broke out, and as we resolved that this na-
 ‘ tion should have a share in the expence, though
 ‘ it was to have no share in the war, this was far
 ‘ from being all that was expended that year; for,
 ‘ by a vote of credit, agreed to about the end of
 ‘ the preceding session, his Majesty was empowered
 ‘ to augment his forces both by sea and land, and
 ‘ to take such other measures as the exigency of
 ‘ affairs might require, in pursuance of which, the
 ‘ augmentations were made, and the other expen-
 ‘ ces

‘ ces incurred, which I have before mentioned ;
‘ and therefore, for the service of the year 1735,
‘ and the deficiencies of the former year, there was
‘ granted by Parliament the sum of 3,070,129*l*.
‘ For the service of the year 1736, 2,181,859*l*.
‘ For the service of the year 1737, 1,952,725*l*.
‘ And for the year 1738, 2,356,719*l*.

‘ In these computations, my Lords, I have
‘ omitted all those sums that were granted for
‘ making good the deficiencies of former funds,
‘ and likewise all those that were granted for pay-
‘ ing off any part of our debt: I have reckoned
‘ nothing but what was granted for current ser-
‘ vices, or for extraordinary expences incurred in
‘ the preceding years ; and, from these compu-
‘ tations, it will appear, that the grants for the
‘ thirteen years I have mentioned, amount in the
‘ whole to 32,319,587*l*. *Sterling*. Whereas, if we
‘ had kept within 1,500,000*l*. yearly, which we
‘ may always do in time of peace, the whole of
‘ our expence for these thirteen years, would have
‘ amounted to no more than 19,500,000*l*. so that
‘ by keeping up armies, paying subsidies, and
‘ fitting out squadrons, which we made no use
‘ of, nor had any occasion for, we have wasted
‘ very near thirteen millions, which, if it had
‘ been regularly and annually applied to its proper
‘ use, would have paid off near seventeen milli-
‘ ons of our publick debt ; and, such a payment
‘ would have been attended with this farther ad-
‘ vantage, that it would have enabled us, some
‘ years ago, not only to have reduced the interest
‘ upon the remaining publick debt, but also to
‘ have reduced the interest of money in general,
‘ to 3 *per Cent*. which would have made it much
‘ easier, than it is at present, for many landed
‘ gentlemen to pay the taxes necessary for the an-
‘ nual support of our government.

‘ Considering

‘ Considering the situation we are now in ;
‘ considering the situation the affairs of *Europe*
‘ are in ; considering the misfortunes one of our
‘ most antient and best allies has met with,
‘ and considering the insults this nation has met
‘ with, and the many depredations and cruelties
‘ our merchants and seamen have been exposed
‘ to ; I believe I may, I do, my Lords, with
‘ confidence appeal to every man that hears me,
‘ whether we have reaped one shilling’s worth of
‘ advantage by the numerous armies we have
‘ kept up, the powerful squadrons we have fitted
‘ out, the great subsidies we have paid, and the
‘ many negotiations and treaties we have carried
‘ on and concluded since the memorable year
‘ 1721 ? Shall we then be surprized, that there
‘ have been heats and animosities amongst us ?
‘ Can we be at a loss in assigning the cause ?
‘ Could it be supposed, that a brave and a free
‘ people would bear, with patience, being expo-
‘ sed, by pacifick measures, to the insults and
‘ contempt of their enemies, and that at a time
‘ when they were loaded with an expence, that
‘ might have made them the terror of their foes ?
‘ It is evident, my Lords, that all the heats
‘ and animosities, that have been amongst us of
‘ late years, have sprung from those pacifick
‘ counsels, that have made us tamely submit to
‘ so many insults, and those warlike appearances,
‘ that have subjected us to so great an expence ;
‘ and, when we consider from whence our heats
‘ and animosities have proceeded, we may easily
‘ see, how they have been put an end to. His
‘ Majesty’s declaration of war has put an effectual
‘ end to them ; and, if the war be carried on in
‘ a warlike manner, if the naval and land force
‘ of this nation be wisely and vigorously em-
‘ ployed, I dare answer for it, no heats or ani-
‘ mosities will arise amongst us whilst it lasts.
‘ But,

‘ But, if the same negotiating humour, which
 ‘ has so long prevented our declaring war, not-
 ‘ withstanding the many just provocations, and
 ‘ the many good opportunities we have had for
 ‘ it, should now prevent our pushing it with vi-
 ‘ gour, as the consequences will be more fatal,
 ‘ I am afraid, the heats and animosities, that must
 ‘ ensue, will be much more violent.

‘ For this reason, my Lords, as his Majesty’s
 ‘ speech from the throne, is always, in this house,
 ‘ understood to be a speech from the ministers,
 ‘ and as our address by way of answer to that
 ‘ speech, must consequently be supposed to be an
 ‘ answer made to the ministers; therefore, if we
 ‘ make any mention of heats or animosities, we
 ‘ ought to tell them, that as there are now
 ‘ no heats or animosities amongst us, we hope
 ‘ they will take care to prevent any such for the
 ‘ future, by a vigorous prosecution of the war.
 ‘ This should be the amendment I would propose,
 ‘ if I could expect that my advice would be
 ‘ taken; but, as this I cannot expect, and as
 ‘ some Lords may think, that this would be a
 ‘ more free way of addressing our Sovereign, than
 ‘ has been usual of late years, though not more
 ‘ free than has been practised by our ancestors,
 ‘ I shall content myself with being for the amend-
 ‘ ment proposed; and, I hope the noble Lord,
 ‘ who made the motion, will endeavour as much
 ‘ as he can to prevent prejudices or animosities
 ‘ having a share in our deliberations, by agreeing
 ‘ to leave these two ugly words out of his motion.’

The next that rose up to give his sentiments in
 this debate, was the Earl of *Chesterfield*, the pur-
 port of whose speech was as follows, viz.

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ Upon such a solemn and important occasion, Earl of Ches-
 ‘ I am sorry to find that a dispute should arise, ter, field’s
 ‘ or spe ech.

‘ or the unanimity of this house be disturbed; on
‘ account of a few words, or expressions, which no
‘ Lord will pretend to be of any importance in
‘ themselves, either to the crown or the nation,
‘ whatever they may be to the minister; and
‘ therefore, when they were taken notice of, and
‘ objected to by my noble friend near me, I ex-
‘ pected that the noble Lord who, I supposed,
‘ had accidentally made them a part of his mo-
‘ tion, would have so far contributed to that cor-
‘ dial union which he was pleased to recommend,
‘ as to stand up and agree to the amendment pro-
‘ posed. But when I found those words and ex-
‘ pressions insisted on, not only by him, but by
‘ other Lords, who may be supposed to have
‘ had some hand in advising and framing
‘ his Majesty’s speech from the throne, I then
‘ began to suspect that those words had not
‘ dropt into the motion by accident, but that
‘ they had been inserted with design, to make
‘ this house confirm a representation that has been
‘ made to his Majesty, by some who are, per-
‘ haps too often, near his person; and in this
‘ light I must acknowledge, they are of the ut-
‘ most importance to the crown, to the nation,
‘ and above all, to the honour and dignity of
‘ this house.

‘ I know, my Lords, it has been of late years
‘ a custom, to make the address of this house
‘ a sort of echo to his Majesty’s speech from the
‘ throne; and, as echo’s never fail to repeat the
‘ last words of a sentence, so, it seems, we must
‘ never fail echoing back the last paragraph of his
‘ Majesty’s speech. This, I say, has been a
‘ custom for some years past; but I cannot think
‘ that a religious observance of this custom, is ei-
‘ ther consistent with the character we ought to
‘ preserve, or necessary for shewing our respect to
‘ our Sovereign. I am sure, upon the present
‘ occasion,

‘ occasion, it will be a failure in our duty to the
‘ King, and an exposing of ourselves to the cen-
‘ sure at least, if not to the contempt, of the
‘ whole world.

‘ Can any one, with justice, say, my Lords,
‘ that prejudices, heats, or animosities have of late
‘ been intermix’d in our deliberations? Can any
‘ one, with justice, say, that there has lately been
‘ any division among the people of this nation?
‘ I am really astonished, how such words could
‘ creep into his Majesty’s speech from the throne.
‘ The speech, ’tis true, is generally said to be the
‘ speech of the minister; but I wonder what mi-
‘ nister dared to tell his Majesty, that there have
‘ been, or ever were, any heats or animosities in
‘ our deliberations, or that there have lately been
‘ any divisions amongst his people. I believe,
‘ there is no assembly in the world, where delibe-
‘ rations and debates are carried on with more de-
‘ cency and calmness: I believe, the people of
‘ this nation were never less divided in their senti-
‘ ments, than they have been of late years.
‘ Therefore, if any one has of late presumed
‘ to say to his Majesty, that there were heats or
‘ animosities in any of our deliberations, or that
‘ there are divisions amongst his people, it must
‘ be one of the grossest misrepresentations that
‘ was ever whispered into the ear of any Sove-
‘ reign Potentate; and shall we, by any expres-
‘ sion in our address, give credit to such a mis-
‘ representation, and enter, as it were, into a
‘ combination for putting an imposition upon our
‘ Prince, that must give him a bad opinion, not
‘ only of his people, but also of this assembly,
‘ of which we have the honour to be members?
‘ Such a conduct, with regard to the people,
‘ would be most unjust, but with respect to our-
‘ selves, it would be a sort of *felo de se*.

‘ The people of this nation, my Lords, were
‘ never, I believe, so unanimous in any one thing,
‘ as they have, for several years, been in that of
‘ desiring to have an opportunity of revenging
‘ themselves against the *Spaniards*. The only di-
‘ vision, if it can be called so, that has of late
‘ appeared amongst us, has been between the
‘ people of one side, and a few of our ministers
‘ of the other. I say, my Lords, a few of our
‘ ministers; for, I will not do so much injustice
‘ to the administration, as to say, that all those
‘ who have a share in the administration, are of
‘ that party which has so long obstinately with-
‘ stood the general voice of their country. I
‘ hope I may say, all those that have a share in
‘ our administration: I hope our administration
‘ consists of a great number of persons: I am
‘ sure it ought, by our constitution, to consist of
‘ a great number, that have no other dependence
‘ upon one another, but that which results from
‘ their duty to their country, and their affection
‘ to their Sovereign. If it be otherwise, I am
‘ sorry for it, and glad I have not so much as the
‘ character of having a hand in it. But let it
‘ consist of what number it will: Let it be a sole
‘ corporation (a term well known to the reverend
‘ bench) if the world please to think it so, I am
‘ sure, it has had, with regard to its late pacifick
‘ measures, no party among the people for this
‘ dozen of years past; and, if any one has en-
‘ deavoured to make his Majesty believe that it
‘ has, I am sure the Parliament, and particularly
‘ this house, ought to take a proper method for
‘ undeceiving him; for while our Parliaments
‘ continue to be of any use to the nation, they
‘ will always take care that the King may safely
‘ resort to them, as to the fountain of truth, in
‘ order to know the real disposition of his people,
‘ and the true character of his ministers.

‘ This

‘ This division, my Lords, between a few of
‘ our ministers, or one sole minister, and his im-
‘ mediate dependents, of one side, and the whole
‘ body of the people of the other, has been the
‘ only division that has appeared of late years
‘ amongst us ; and, such a division can in no
‘ light be called a division among the people ; for
‘ in this country, I think, the people and the ad-
‘ ministration are two terms that are generally
‘ made use of as opposite to each other, and there
‘ was never greater reason for making use of these
‘ two terms in this sense, than there has been for
‘ several years past. Then, with regard to heats
‘ and animosities, can any one say, that there has
‘ been lately any heat or animosity amongst the
‘ people, that is, amongst any one set or party
‘ of them against another ? There have, indeed,
‘ been great heats and animosities in the nation,
‘ but in this too, the people have been all united.
‘ They have most justly shewn heats and animosi-
‘ ties against the *Spaniards*, and as justly against
‘ those who have so long prevented their doing
‘ themselves justice. Our heats and animosities
‘ therefore, like our divisions, have been between
‘ the whole body of our people upon one side,
‘ and our ministers and enemies upon the other ;
‘ and this shews, that whatever obstinacy *Spain*
‘ may have shewn in her late conduct towards this
‘ nation, it could not be owing to the divisions,
‘ heats, or animosities amongst us ; because she
‘ could not but foresee, that if, by her obstinacy,
‘ she provoked us to declare war against her, the
‘ whole nation, both people and ministers, would
‘ unite in a vigorous prosecution of that war ;
‘ which, I hope, is now our case. I hope no
‘ man will dare to check the progress of our
‘ arms, or to interrupt the prosecution of the
‘ war, by any negotiation, unless such prelimina-

‘ ries be offered as will atone for all past injuries,
‘ and secure us against all future.

‘ My Lords, it was not by our divisions, that
‘ the *Spaniards* were encouraged to treat us in the
‘ contemptuous manner they have done: It was
‘ by the hopes they had, that our ministers would
‘ not dare to give a loose to our vengeance, by
‘ declaring war against them; and, for these
‘ hopes, the long patience of our ministers, and
‘ their fondness for negotiation, had given them
‘ but too much reason. But, if there had been
‘ divisions amongst us, and if those divisions
‘ made the *Spaniards* contemn us so much, as to
‘ refuse fulfilling their part of the last solemn con-
‘ vention they made with us, I will then say,
‘ that our divisions have done a most signal ser-
‘ vice to the nation. The most unlucky thing
‘ that could have befallen this nation, would
‘ have been the court of *Spain*’s making that sti-
‘ pulated payment which they had wisely pro-
‘ mised, and we had generously, I cannot say
‘ wisely, accepted of in full of all demands. If
‘ the *Spaniards* had made that payment, which I
‘ am surprized they did not, our ministers would,
‘ from thence, have got a pretence to negotiate
‘ for the eight months following, with the same
‘ success they had negotiated for the eight years
‘ preceding; and the *Spaniards* would have got a
‘ sort of licence, to plunder our merchants for
‘ eight months longer, by which they might
‘ have fully re-imburfed themselves the inconfi-
‘ derable sum paid for that licence. But why
‘ should I say eight months? Upon the expiration
‘ of that term, I am convinced, our ministers would
‘ have found reasons for giving them several re-
‘ newals, without any new fine, because these re-
‘ newals, and the several negotiations for that
‘ purpose, would have been most excellent expe-
‘ dients

‘ dients for putting off two or three sessions
‘ more.

‘ This, my Lords, has been our case for many
‘ years past: We have, every year, and from
‘ session to session, been put off with hopes, that
‘ before next session, we should be able to obtain
‘ ample satisfaction, and undoubted security, by
‘ those negotiations which every man, except
‘ those that carried them on, foresaw would end
‘ in nothing but loading us with expence at home,
‘ and with ignominy and contempt abroad. It is
‘ this, my Lords, that has created all the divi-
‘ sions, and all the heats and animosities, that
‘ have been amongst us. The people were for
‘ resentment and revenge, our peace-makers for
‘ patience and forgiveness: The people called out
‘ for reparation for past injuries, our peace-makers
‘ submitted tamely to fresh insults. The people
‘ were for bravely vindicating, our peace-makers
‘ for meanly prostituting the rights of the nation.
‘ Thank God! the people have at last prevailed;
‘ and this has healed up all our divisions, and put
‘ an end, I hope a final end, to all our heats and
‘ animosities.

‘ His Majesty’s declaration of war has now,
‘ I hope, brought all his ministers to be of the
‘ same sentiments his people have been of for
‘ many years: At least, if they are not so in
‘ their hearts, they must be so in appearance; and
‘ this must of course put an end to the only divi-
‘ sion that has of late appeared in this nation: It
‘ must put an end to every animosity but that just
‘ one against our enemies, which will now, I
‘ hope, be allowed to take its full swing. Per-
‘ haps some of our ministers may still have a hank-
‘ ering after negotiation: If they have, let them
‘ but look upon his Majesty’s declaration of war,
‘ and they must stifle every such affection. They
‘ cannot suppose, that his Majesty will submit to

‘ treat with a nation, that has exercised great
‘ cruelties and barbarities upon the persons of
‘ divers of his subjects: They cannot suppose,
‘ that his Majesty will submit to treat with a na-
‘ tion, that has insulted the *British* colours in the
‘ most ignominious manner; unless that nation
‘ shall, in the humblest manner, sue for peace,
‘ and offer, by way of preliminary, the most
‘ signal satisfaction, for the cruelties and barbari-
‘ ties they have exercised upon his subjects, and
‘ for the ignominious insults they have put upon
‘ his crown and dignity; for I will be bold to
‘ say, that without such a signal satisfaction, there
‘ is no future security we can, with any certainty,
‘ rely on. Nay farther, my Lords, no man who
‘ reads his Majesty’s declaration of war can, I
‘ think, suppose, that he will treat with a nation,
‘ that has been guilty of so many breaches of
‘ promise, and of so many infractions of the
‘ most solemn treaties, unless they offer, by way
‘ of preliminary, to put a real security in our
‘ hands, as a pledge for their performance of
‘ what shall be afterwards agreed on; and when
‘ the *Spaniards* are brought, by the vigour of
‘ our arms, (for they can never be brought to it
‘ by negotiation) to offer these things by way
‘ of preliminary, I know so much of the ge-
‘ nerous, forgiving temper of my countrymen,
‘ that I can engage for their unanimous appro-
‘ bation of any treaty our ministers shall con-
‘ clude, upon such safe and honourable preli-
‘ minaries.

‘ Thus, my Lords, his Majesty’s declaration of
‘ war has put an end to all the divisions, heats,
‘ and animosities, that have lately been raised and
‘ fomented, by the conduct of some of our mini-
‘ sters; and, the form and method in which it was
‘ drawn up will, I hope, secure us against a renewal
‘ of any of those divisions, heats, or animosities.

‘ For

‘ For this reason, I cannot let slip this opportunity, to declare my approbation of it. I not only
‘ approve of the measure, but I highly approve of
‘ the declaration itself. I do not know who it was
‘ that had the honour of drawing it up: Be who
‘ he will, the nation is, I think, highly obliged to
‘ him; for it is expressed in the most proper, the
‘ most just, and the strongest terms that could be
‘ devised. But, my Lords, I must observe, that
‘ it is expressly contrary to the reasoning that was
‘ made use of last year, in favour of the convention;
‘ and therefore, I was surprized to hear the
‘ noble Duke make a fresh attempt to justify that
‘ convention. I am sure, no Lord has a greater
‘ respect for his Majesty, than he has: I am sure,
‘ no man more heartily wishes to see our late heats
‘ and animosities utterly extinguished. But, when
‘ I consider the terms in which the declaration of
‘ war is expressed, I cannot think it altogether
‘ consistent with the respect due to his Majesty, to
‘ attempt now, to justify a convention, by which
‘ no satisfaction was so much as stipulated, for
‘ those cruelties and barbarities the *Spaniards* had
‘ exercised upon his Majesty’s subjects, or for those
‘ ignominious insults they had put upon the *British*
‘ flag: And, I must look upon a fresh attempt
‘ to justify the convention, as an attempt to revive
‘ those heats and animosities that were raised in
‘ the nation, by that most extraordinary measure.
‘ I shall call it by no worse a name, lest I should
‘ be accused of falling into the error I am finding
‘ fault with: I hope it has now met with the fate
‘ it deserves, and which, for the honour of *Britain*,
‘ I wish it may meet with: I hope it is fallen into
‘ eternal oblivion; and I wish it could be rased out
‘ of every historical record.

‘ Having thus shewn, my Lords, what were
‘ the divisions, heats and animosities, that have
‘ lately appeared amongst us, and having shewn
‘ that,

‘ that, by their very nature, they must have all
 ‘ ceased, as soon as his Majesty declared war, I
 ‘ shall conclude with saying, that, I believe, the
 ‘ best way to prevent their being renewed, is to
 ‘ forget that there were ever any such amongst us.
 ‘ Our ministers have now changed their measures:
 ‘ They have now entered into measures, which
 ‘ the whole nation approves of: Why should they
 ‘ now seek to justify those former measures, which
 ‘ the whole nation condemned? If they pursue
 ‘ with vigour the measures they have now entered
 ‘ into, the nation seems willing to forget the errors
 ‘ of their former conduct: Why then should they
 ‘ now seek to brand with the odious names of
 ‘ prejudices, heats, and animosities, the objections
 ‘ which the people thought they had reason to
 ‘ make to their former conduct? This is doing
 ‘ what they can, to raise heats and animosities, in-
 ‘ stead of endeavouring to stifle them; therefore,
 ‘ in my opinion, it was most imprudent to allow
 ‘ any such words to have a place in his Majesty’s
 ‘ speech from the throne; and, for this reason, I
 ‘ must be against their being echo’d back to the
 ‘ throne, by our address.’

The Lord *Hervey* was the next that rose up, who spoke to this effect, *viz.*

‘ My Lords,

Lord *Hervey*’s speech.

‘ The word *echo* is, I find, a favourite term,
 ‘ which is generally made use of upon all such oc-
 ‘ casions as the present, for turning into ridicule,
 ‘ a custom which has for many years been esta-
 ‘ blished. I know, it is easy for one who has so
 ‘ much wit at command, as the noble Lord who
 ‘ spoke last, to give a ridiculous turn, to the most
 ‘ reasonable custom that can be introduced; but I
 ‘ likewise know your Lordships discernment to be
 ‘ so good, that you can easily distinguish between
 ‘ what

‘ what is ridiculous in itself, and what is rendered
‘ so only by the happy genius of him who has a
‘ mind to explode it; and therefore, I need not
‘ say much in favour of a custom which I think
‘ most reasonable, and which has met with the
‘ approbation of many years, and of several suc-
‘ ceeding generations. In private life, it has al-
‘ ways been reckoned one of the highest degrees
‘ of contempt or disrespect, to take no notice of
‘ what a gentleman says, when his discourse is
‘ particularly addressed to you: In publick life, I
‘ must think it is the same, and therefore I must
‘ think, it would be a failure in that respect which
‘ is due to our Sovereign, if we should, in our
‘ address, omit to take notice of any one material
‘ paragraph in his Majesty’s speech from the
‘ throne.

‘ Who it was, my Lords, that had the honour
‘ to be consulted by his Majesty about the speech
‘ he has now made to us, or who it was that ad-
‘ vised him to insert that paragraph, by which his
‘ Majesty recommends to us, to avoid heats and
‘ animosities, I do not know; but, if his Majesty
‘ had thought fit to confer that honour upon me,
‘ I should have advised the very same thing; and
‘ what has already happened amongst us, would,
‘ in my opinion, have justified that advice. There
‘ has, ’tis true, no heats or animosities happened
‘ this day amongst us: There never do happen
‘ any such in our debates; but the debate of this
‘ day will, I am afraid, add fresh fuel to the heats
‘ and animosities that still subsist without doors;
‘ and, if Lords would consider, that this is gene-
‘ rally the consequence of every debate that arises
‘ in this house, I am convinced, we should not
‘ have so many of them as we have; because, in
‘ this case, I believe, no Lord would raise a de-
‘ bate, by opposing any proposition made by ano-
‘ ther, unless he thought the honour or the interest
‘ of

‘ of his country deeply concerned in the question.
‘ I shall not dispute with the noble Lord that
‘ spoke last, whether the few words objected to,
‘ dropt by accident into the motion made by my
‘ noble friend, or whether they were inserted with
‘ design. In either case, I think, they ought not
‘ to have occasioned a debate; especially, at a time
‘ when we ought not only to be unanimous, but
‘ to avoid the least appearance of discord. If they
‘ dropt in by accident, the noble Lord who spoke
‘ last has acknowledged, they are of no impor-
‘ tance, and might therefore, for the sake of una-
‘ nimity, have been agreed to without any dan-
‘ gerous consequence. And, if they were inserted
‘ with design, I cannot so much as suppose any
‘ other design, than that of shewing a proper re-
‘ spect to his Majesty, which no Lord ought to
‘ oppose. The noble Lord has, ’tis true, found
‘ out another design: He supposes, that they were
‘ inserted on purpose, for justifying some represen-
‘ tation made to his Majesty. I do not know of
‘ any representation that has been made to his Ma-
‘ jesty, nor do I think there was the least occasion
‘ for representing to him, that there have been di-
‘ visions amongst us: It is what he could not but
‘ know, by looking upon the journals of either
‘ house of Parliament, which, I hope, either he
‘ or his servants may do without any offence:
‘ And we cannot, in justice, suppose him so much
‘ unconcerned about what passes amongst his peo-
‘ ple, as not to know, that there have been great
‘ heats and animosities among them. None of his
‘ servants, therefore, had the least occasion to
‘ make any such representation to him, and if any
‘ of them have made such a one, it was so far
‘ from being a misrepresentation, that it has been
‘ confirmed, by every Lord that has spoke in this
‘ debate. It is acknowledged on all sides, that
‘ there have been divisions, heats, and animosities
‘ in

‘ in the nation; but, on one side, it has been said,
‘ that they are all now put an end to, by his Ma-
‘ jesty’s declaration of war, and that they were not
‘ between one set or party of the people and ano-
‘ ther, but between the whole body of the people
‘ on one side, and his Majesty’s servants or mini-
‘ sters, as some always affect to call them, on the
‘ other.

‘ My Lords, I am extreamly glad to hear, that
‘ our divisions are all put an end to, by his Ma-
‘ jesty’s declaration of war: I wish it may be so.
‘ If it is, it shews his Majesty’s wisdom, and his
‘ recommending to us, to avoid any such for the
‘ future, in my opinion, shews his goodness. But,
‘ I do not know what the noble Lord means, by
‘ divisions between the whole body of the people
‘ of one side, and a few of his Majesty’s ministers
‘ of the other. He must be an unhappy minister,
‘ that has no set of men, no party in the nation,
‘ that approves of his conduct. I do not know
‘ that I ever read of such a minister in our histo-
‘ ries, and, I believe, we have had as bad, as any
‘ we have at present. But for God’s sake! what
‘ is this measure, that has been approved of, by a
‘ few of his Majesty’s ministers, and condemned
‘ by all the rest of the nation? If his Lordship
‘ means any of our late negotiations, or even the
‘ late convention, I must desire him to recollect,
‘ that they were all, not only approved of, but
‘ advised by both houses of Parliament, as well as
‘ by all his Majesty’s ministers. I shall grant, that
‘ there was a party in the nation, as well as in each
‘ house of Parliament, that disapproved of those
‘ measures; and, I do not pretend to find fault
‘ with them for so doing. Those that are not
‘ employed by his Majesty, may differ in opinion
‘ with those that are, and, thank God! they may,
‘ in this free country, avow their sentiments, and
‘ declare them openly. This, I shall never find
‘ fault

‘ fault with: I hope we shall always retain this
‘ valuable liberty: But, I must find fault, when
‘ heats and animosities are mixed with that liberty
‘ which is indulged us by our constitution; and
‘ this is what his Majesty most graciously, I think,
‘ advises us to avoid: This is what we are to de-
‘ clare we shall avoid, by the address my noble
‘ friend has been pleased to propose; and this, I
‘ think, is the least we can do, in return to that
‘ most gracious advice, his Majesty has vouchsafed
‘ to give us from the throne.

‘ I am far from saying, my Lords, that any
‘ heats or animosities have lately appeared in this
‘ house; but there have been divisions amongst us,
‘ and, by what the noble Lord has said of the late
‘ convention, he has shewn, that those divisions
‘ still subsist. I am sorry that affair should now
‘ be brought into any of our debates. I am cer-
‘ tain, it is what we have nothing to do with, up-
‘ on this occasion; but, when fault is found with
‘ any past measure, or satyrical things thrown out
‘ against it, it is natural, and even reasonable, in
‘ those who advised or approved of it, to say some-
‘ thing in its vindication. The convention, my
‘ Lords, was attended with this benefit at least,
‘ that it gave us time to prepare for war, and to
‘ give notice to our merchants, to withdraw their
‘ effects out of the *Spanish* dominions; and I must
‘ think, that *Spain*’s refusing to perform what was
‘ therein stipulated, is now a strong argument for
‘ convincing us, that it was both honourable and
‘ advantageous on our part. To which I must
‘ add, that it was not only ratified by his Majesty,
‘ but approved of by both houses of Parliament;
‘ and therefore, if the respect that is due to our
‘ Sovereign does not, the respect we ought to have
‘ for that assembly, of which we are members,
‘ ought now to prevent our giving it ill names, or
‘ loading it with any invidious epithet.

‘ I shall not now, my Lords, take upon me to
‘ determine, whether it would have been happy
‘ for this nation or no, to have had the convention
‘ punctually performed, on the part of *Spain*. But,
‘ I cannot think it would have been any loss to us,
‘ to have had 95,000 *l.* of *Spanish* money, to have
‘ divided amongst our injured merchants; and I
‘ am sure, it would have been happy for the na-
‘ tion, to have obtained justice without a war, if
‘ such a thing could have been any way accom-
‘ plished. This consideration must, of itself, justify
‘ our endeavouring to obtain satisfaction, by nego-
‘ tiation; and the convention shewed, that our
‘ hopes of succeeding in that way, were not with-
‘ out some foundation. Therefore, when I hear
‘ sarcastical reflections thrown out against our pa-
‘ cifick measures, which, now war is declared,
‘ must be allowed to be quite out of the question,
‘ I must suppose, that it proceeds from that spirit
‘ of division, which has shewn itself formerly even
‘ in this house, and which has, without doors,
‘ often broke forth in violent heats and animosities.

‘ By his Majesty’s declaration of war, I shall
‘ grant, my Lords, that this spirit seems to be
‘ somewhat allayed, but, I’m afraid, it is far from
‘ being extinguished. The same spirit that made
‘ some part of the people shew such heats and ani-
‘ mosities against those measures his Majesty was
‘ pleased to take for preventing a war, will, I be-
‘ lieve, prevail with them to find fault with every
‘ measure his Majesty may be pleased to take, for
‘ bringing it to a happy and speedy conclusion.
‘ The misfortunes we may meet with, and some
‘ we must meet with, will be aggravated; the ad-
‘ vantages we may gain, and, I hope, we shall
‘ gain a great many, will be depreciated: In short,
‘ unless your Lordships begin to shew a good ex-
‘ ample, I expect that every step of his Majesty’s
‘ conduct in time of war, will be opposed or mis-
‘ represented,

‘ represented, as well as every step of his conduct
‘ has been in time of peace. The calm we now
‘ seem to enjoy, is not, I’m afraid, owing to the
‘ utter extinguishment of those flames of strife and
‘ contention, which too often prevail in this king-
‘ dom, but to their wanting materials to feed on.
‘ The war has been so lately declared: The inci-
‘ dents that have happened, or could have hap-
‘ pened, are so few, that the most discontented
‘ have, as yet, no room for shewing their spleen
‘ against the administration; but, from what has
‘ happened to-day, we have, I think, no reason
‘ to conclude, that our discontents or divisions are
‘ at an end. No fault can be found with the de-
‘ claration of war, no fault can, as yet, be found
‘ with the conduct of the war; but fault must be
‘ found with something; therefore, we have this
‘ day had the conduct of our publick affairs for
‘ twelve or fourteen years past examined into, and
‘ every step of it, I think, condemned, though
‘ no part of it any way relates to the question now
‘ before us. For my part, my Lords, I shall not
‘ give your Lordships the trouble of entering into
‘ a minute and particular justification of our con-
‘ duct, and of all the publick expences that have
‘ been incurred, during that long,—very long pe-
‘ riod, as some have thought it: The task would
‘ not be difficult; but it would be tedious, and, I
‘ think, unnecessary: Therefore, I shall only ob-
‘ serve in general, that every step of our conduct,
‘ during that period, has been approved by both
‘ houses of Parliament, and every article of our
‘ publick expence, has not only been approved,
‘ but provided for, by Parliament; consequently,
‘ as there have been several general elections with-
‘ in that period, I must think, that not only the
‘ conduct of our publick affairs, but all the publick
‘ expence the nation has been put to, has met with
‘ the approbation of a great majority of the people.
‘ We

‘ We are now, my Lords, engaged in a war,
‘ and in a war too, that may prove a very heavy
‘ and dangerous one, especially, if, by our divi-
‘ sions, some of our neighbours should be encour-
‘ aged to join with *Spain* against us, and our
‘ allies discouraged from giving us any assistance;
‘ therefore I wish some noble Lords would do
‘ what they acknowledge to be right: I wish
‘ they would forget all former contentions, and
‘ heartily unite in every thing that may tend to
‘ shew our friends, as well as enemies, that what-
‘ ever divisions there may be amongst us, what-
‘ ever faults we may find with the conduct of
‘ our ministers, in time of peace, we will do no-
‘ thing, nor say any thing, that may disconcert
‘ or interrupt them, in the prosecution of a just
‘ and necessary war. If this had been the case,
‘ I am sure no part of his Majesty’s speech, nor
‘ any part of the address now proposed, would
‘ have been objected to; for, suppose there were
‘ now no divisions amongst us, nor any heats or
‘ animosities in the nation, suppose there never
‘ had been any such, yet, I cannot think it would
‘ have been wrong in his Majesty now, at the
‘ beginning of a war, to caution us against divi-
‘ sions, heats, and animosities, nor in any of his
‘ ministers to advise him to do so; and far less
‘ would it have been wrong in us, to make a pro-
‘ per return to that part of his Majesty’s speech,
‘ by declaring in our address, that we would take
‘ care to follow the advice his Majesty had so
‘ graciously and so properly given. It is what
‘ has been often done, by the Sovereign, from
‘ the throne, and it is what this house has ne-
‘ ver failed to make a proper return to; there-
‘ fore, if we should upon this occasion, neglect
‘ to do so, I should think, I am sure the whole
‘ world without doors would think, it proceeded
‘ from that very thing which his Majesty com-
‘ plains

‘ plains of in his speech, and to which he most
 ‘ justly, in my opinion, imputes the late, and
 ‘ otherwise unaccountable obstinacy, or rather
 ‘ contumacy of *Spain*. For this reason, my Lords,
 ‘ I shall be so far from disagreeing with any part
 ‘ of the address my noble friend has been pleased
 ‘ to propose, especially that part which some no-
 ‘ ble Lords have thought fit to object to, that if
 ‘ he had omitted to propose it, I should have
 ‘ stood up in my place, and endeavoured to sup-
 ‘ ply the defect, by way of amendment.’

The next speaker upon this subject, was the
 Earl of *Scarborough*, whose speech was in sub-
 stance thus :

Earl of *Scar-*
borough's
speech.

‘ My Lords,
 ‘ Although I have often had the misfortune to
 ‘ find what I approved of, opposed by some
 ‘ Lords for whom I had a very great esteem,
 ‘ yet, I never could allow myself to call that op-
 ‘ position a division, or to think that it proceeded
 ‘ from any party-prejudice, or private discontent :
 ‘ And, I am sure, it cannot, with the least justice,
 ‘ be said, that any late opposition has, in this
 ‘ house, been carried on with any heat or animos-
 ‘ ity. I have been always so candid as to think,
 ‘ that if any Lord opposed what I approved,
 ‘ he did it, because he thought it was wrong ;
 ‘ and, if he proposed any thing in which I could
 ‘ not join, I have always supposed, he did it, be-
 ‘ cause he thought it was right. This has always
 ‘ been my way of thinking, about the conduct of
 ‘ those who differed from me in opinion, and
 ‘ I hope it has been their way of thinking, about
 ‘ mine. Therefore, I cannot think there has
 ‘ been lately any thing amongst us that could pro-
 ‘ perly be called a division, and I am sure, there
 ‘ has of late no heat or animosity appeared in any
 ‘ of

‘ of our debates. I have, indeed, observed great
‘ heats and animosities expressed, both within
‘ doors and without, against the insulting treat-
‘ ment we have, for many years, received from
‘ *Spain*; but I was so far from disapproving, that
‘ I have always joined in such heats and animosi-
‘ ties: I have always reflected upon the insults
‘ offered us by *Spain*, with as great indignation as
‘ any man in the kingdom, though I differ perhaps
‘ with some, as to the method, or rather as to the
‘ time of shewing our resentment in a proper man-
‘ ner, against the conduct of that insolent and im-
‘ potent nation.

‘ It is long since their conduct deserved the
‘ highest and most immediate resentment: It is
‘ long since we might, with justice, have made
‘ them feel the most fatal effects of our vengeance;
‘ and whatever the natural haughtiness of that na-
‘ tion may make them suppose, the rest of *Europe*
‘ must be convinced, that our forbearance has been
‘ owing to a compassion for their weakness, and
‘ not to any dread of their power. It was this,
‘ that made his Majesty resolve, by accepting of
‘ the late convention, to give them a fresh oppor-
‘ tunity, for seeing the foolishness of their conduct
‘ towards us, and for preventing, by a submission,
‘ that severe correction it deserved to meet with.
‘ But I am surprized to hear some Lords insist so
‘ strongly, and as it were triumphantly, upon that
‘ convention’s meeting with the approbation of
‘ both houses of Parliament. I believe, there were
‘ a great many, who approved of the address pro-
‘ posed upon that occasion, though they were very
‘ far from approving of the convention. I re-
‘ member, one of the chief arguments insisted on
‘ in favour of that address, was, that it did not
‘ imply an approbation of the convention. If such
‘ a thing had been proposed, I believe, instead of
‘ meeting with the concurrence of both houses of
‘ Parliament,

‘ Parliament, it would have been rejected by both,
‘ with disdain.

‘ I am convinced, that several Lords gave their
‘ consent to the address proposed upon that occa-
‘ sion, because they thought it did not imply an
‘ approbation of the convention; and as I had the
‘ honour to be so well acquainted with the mea-
‘ sures his Majesty had resolved on, that, if *Spain*
‘ did not soon yield to a great deal more than was
‘ expressly stipulated by the convention, I was tho-
‘ roughly convinced, that a war would speedily
‘ ensue; therefore, though I did not approve of
‘ the convention, nor of the address that was pro-
‘ posed upon that occasion, yet, I was against our
‘ doing any thing in this house that might hurry
‘ our ministers into a war, before they had suffi-
‘ ciently provided for prosecuting it with vigour;
‘ and, as a resolution proposed in this house, to-
‘ wards the end of last session, would have been a
‘ sort of parliamentary declaration of war against
‘ *Spain*, and consequently would have precipitated
‘ the nation into a war, before we were sufficiently
‘ prepared, either for defending ourselves, or of-
‘ fending the enemy, therefore, I was against that
‘ resolution, though it was proposed and supported
‘ by several Lords for whom I shall always have
‘ the greatest regard.

‘ So much I thought necessary to trouble your
‘ Lordships with, for explaining my conduct last
‘ session, lest it should be inferred from what has
‘ been said in this, that, if *Spain* had made the
‘ payment stipulated by that convention, I should
‘ have been for continuing to negotiate with them
‘ for eight months, or one month longer, and al-
‘ lowing them, in the mean time, to search and
‘ seize our ships in the *American* seas. This, my
‘ Lords, I should have been against, notwithstand-
‘ ing my having been against the resolution propo-
‘ sed at the end of last session; and, if this had
‘ happened

‘ happened to be the case, it would, indeed, have
‘ made a division amongst us; but then, it would
‘ have been such a division as a noble Lord has
‘ represented: It would have been a division be-
‘ tween the whole people of the nation on one
‘ side, and a very few of his Majesty’s ministers
‘ of the other. About the time the convention
‘ was concluded, there was, I shall grant, some
‘ sort of dispute, though not properly a division,
‘ about the most proper time for declaring war a-
‘ gainst *Spain*. Some thought that it ought then
‘ immediately to be declared, whilst others thought
‘ that it was prudent to wait four months longer.
‘ But no man thought, at least, no man, minister
‘ or other, dared to say, that, if *Spain* refused to
‘ make the stipulated payment within the time li-
‘ mited, or pretended to evade any longer settling
‘ the chief point in dispute between the two na-
‘ tions, we ought not, even in that case, to declare
‘ war, or begin reprisals against them. About this,
‘ there never was any dispute, much less a division
‘ amongst us, and therefore, upon their failing to
‘ perform what they had promised, hostilities were
‘ begun, and war at last declared, as I expected,
‘ with as great unanimity among all ranks and de-
‘ grees of men, as any publick measure ever met
‘ with. For this reason, I cannot but disapprove
‘ of that paragraph in his Majesty’s speech, which
‘ relates to divisions, heats, and animosities; and
‘ much more must I disapprove of the return pro-
‘ posed to be made to it in our address. The for-
‘ mer, in my opinion, bears, and the latter con-
‘ firms, an insinuation, that is evidently and abso-
‘ lutely false. They both tend to insinuate, as if
‘ there were a party amongst us that, with heat
‘ and animosity, opposed and condemned our ha-
‘ ving declared war against *Spain*. If a foreigner,
‘ who knew nothing of the disposition of the
‘ people of this nation, were to read his Majesty’s

‘ speech, this, I am convinced, would be the construction he would put upon the paragraph found fault with; and, in this opinion he would be confirmed, by reading in our address, the answer proposed to be made to that part of his Majesty’s speech.

‘ This, I say, my Lords, will be the opinion of every foreigner that reads his Majesty’s speech from the throne, and our address by way of return; and as it is not only a false opinion, but likewise an opinion that may be of great prejudice to this nation, I shall be against our saying any thing in our address that may tend towards establishing, among foreigners, a belief in an opinion so injurious to the people of this kingdom, and so mischievous with regard to its consequences in the present war.

‘ I have, my Lords, the satisfaction to think, that no man doubts of my esteem for his Majesty’s person, or my zeal for his service; but I shall always be for shewing that esteem, and testifying that zeal, by declaring my sentiments freely in every place, and upon all occasions, where my duty calls upon me to do so; and, upon the present occasion, I think, I am called upon to do so, by all the ties of honour, loyalty, and friendship; because, I am convinced, his Majesty would not, in his speech, have made use of any such words as those now complained of, if some malicious insinuations had not been made to him against those who have, with great calmness and decency, opposed some late measures, for no other reason, I believe, but because they thought them inconsistent with the honour or interest of their country. As such insinuations must tend towards giving his Majesty an ill impression of those, whom I shall always look on as good subjects, though they may sometimes differ with me in opinion, therefore, I shall be
‘ against

‘ against our doing any thing in this house, that
 ‘ may confirm such insinuations; and for this rea-
 ‘ son, I must be against inserting in our address
 ‘ the words or expressions objected to, by some of
 ‘ the noble Lords who have spoke before me in
 ‘ this debate.’

As soon as the Earl of *Scarborough* had ended his discourse, the Lord Chancellor got up, and spoke in substance as follows, *viz.*

‘ My Lords,

‘ As nothing is more necessary at the beginning
 ‘ of a war, than concord and unanimity amongst
 ‘ ourselves; and as our unanimity at present seems
 ‘ to be interrupted by a misapprehension of what
 ‘ his Majesty has said in his speech from the
 ‘ throne, and likewise of what the noble Lord has
 ‘ been pleased to propose by way of answer; I
 ‘ hope your Lordships will excuse my rising up,
 ‘ to endeavour to restore that unanimity which I
 ‘ wish to see established, by explaining and remo-
 ‘ ving that mistake which, I think, has occasioned
 ‘ the present interruption.

Lord Chan-
 cellor's
 speech.

‘ The objections that have been made to some
 ‘ part of the address proposed, have, in my opi-
 ‘ nion, my Lords, been occasioned by supposing,
 ‘ that the heats and animosities there mentioned,
 ‘ relate to the present time, and to the late parti-
 ‘ cular measure, of declaring war against *Spain*.
 ‘ Now, if your Lordships will but consider the
 ‘ expressions themselves, which the noble Lord
 ‘ was pleased to make use of, in that part of the
 ‘ proposition he has made to you, which has been
 ‘ objected to, and the expressions in that part of
 ‘ his Majesty's speech to which they refer, you
 ‘ will see, that neither the one nor the other can
 ‘ be supposed to relate to the present time, or to
 ‘ any particular measure. The expressions made
 ‘ use

‘ use of by his Majesty in his speech from the
 ‘ throne, and by his Lordship in the proposition
 ‘ he has made for an address by way of answer
 ‘ thereto, plainly refer to the time past, and to
 ‘ heats and animosities in general, without the
 ‘ least application to any particular measure; and
 ‘ when this is maturely considered, I am of opi-
 ‘ nion, no reasonable objection can be made,
 ‘ either to his Majesty’s speech, or to any part of
 ‘ the proposition now before you.

‘ Upon the present occasion, my Lords, I do
 ‘ not think it necessary for me to shew, what sort
 ‘ of heats and animosities have been amongst us,
 ‘ or how, or between whom, our late divisions
 ‘ have arisen. It is acknowledged by all, that
 ‘ there have been divisions, heats, and animosi-
 ‘ ties, amongst us: Nay, they became so noto-
 ‘ rious, that even our enemies took notice of
 ‘ them, as appears by the *Spanish* manifesto; and
 ‘ I am convinced they were, as his Majesty has
 ‘ told us, the chief cause of that obstinacy which
 ‘ *Spain* has of late years shewn in all her nego-
 ‘ tiations with us. Therefore, whatever these di-
 ‘ visions were, they must be allowed to be a good
 ‘ foundation for that fatherly and tender exhorta-
 ‘ tion to peace and unity, which his Majesty has
 ‘ most graciously given us in his speech from the
 ‘ throne. Suppose our late divisions had been be-
 ‘ tween the people of one side, and his Majesty’s
 ‘ ministers or servants on the other, and that those
 ‘ divisions had occasioned heats and animosities in
 ‘ the kingdom, even such a division, if any such
 ‘ could be, would be unhappy for the nation;
 ‘ and as his Majesty is the political Father of us
 ‘ all, as he is the Father of his servants, as well
 ‘ as of his subjects, it became, in that case, ne-
 ‘ cessary for him, especially at the beginning of a
 ‘ foreign war, to endeavour to reconcile them to
 ‘ each other, by recommending peace and unity
 ‘ to

‘ to both ; at least, it must, I think, be acknow-
‘ ledged, that it was gracious in him to do so,
‘ and that it shewed his concern for the general
‘ welfare of his kingdoms.

‘ But, my Lords, I am far from being of opi-
‘ nion, that any such division can ever exist, in
‘ which the whole people are of one side, and
‘ the King’s ministers, or a few of them only, of
‘ the other. I believe the most hated or despised
‘ administration that ever was in this kingdom,
‘ had a great many friends among the people, and
‘ a great party that approved of their measures ;
‘ and therefore, I cannot approve of the custom
‘ mentioned by a noble Lord in this debate, of
‘ making use of the words people and administra-
‘ tion as two opposite terms : I think it is an in-
‘ vidious sort of distinction ; and therefore I must
‘ think, that the custom is at all times somewhat
‘ seditious. If any one has of late made use of
‘ this distinction, and endeavoured to recommend
‘ the use of it to others, the doing so, could pro-
‘ ceed from nothing but heat and animosity ; for
‘ none of his present Majesty’s ministers have
‘ done, or advised any thing, that could give the
‘ least room for thinking, that they were in any
‘ interest opposite to that of the people. Gentle-
‘ men may differ in their opinions ; and those
‘ who have the honour to serve his Majesty, may
‘ think that for the good of their country, which
‘ others think not to be so ; but those who differ
‘ from them, ought to judge of their conduct
‘ with that candour and charity, which the noble
‘ Lord who spoke last has recommended, and
‘ which, I am convinced, is a way of judging
‘ practised by him upon all occasions. If every
‘ man, both within doors and without, wou’d
‘ follow his Lordship’s example, we should have
‘ no heats or animosities in the kingdom, nor
‘ would any one suppose such a division, as that

‘ of the whole body of the people upon one side,
‘ and a few of his Majesty’s ministers upon the
‘ other.

‘ Such a division, my Lords, can never, as I
‘ have said, exist in any country, and much less
‘ in this than any other, unless our constitution
‘ should be first overturned, or at least suspend-
‘ ed ; and I am sure we have lately had nothing
‘ like it. We had, indeed, a very great division
‘ amongst us, but last session of Parliament :
‘ Some were for an immediate war against *Spain*,
‘ notwithstanding the convention they had agreed
‘ to, and others were for waiting a few months
‘ longer, to see if we could obtain justice by
‘ peaceable means. His Majesty’s servants know-
‘ ing the great regard he had for the trade and
‘ welfare of his subjects, were very generally, I
‘ believe, of the latter party, which was so far
‘ from consisting of his Majesty’s ministers only,
‘ that it had a majority in both houses of Parlia-
‘ ment, and consequently, by our constitution,
‘ we are obliged to suppose, that it had a majority
‘ among the people. Notwithstanding this ma-
‘ jority, they supported their opinion, both with-
‘ in doors and without, with great moderation
‘ and tranquillity ; but I cannot say so of the
‘ other party. In this house, I shall grant, there
‘ was no heat or animosity appeared ; but the
‘ party without doors did break out into heats
‘ and animosities, and endeavoured, as is usual
‘ upon all such occasions, to support by noise and
‘ clamour without doors, what they could not
‘ support by reason and argument within. This
‘ division, and these heats and animosities, are
‘ now, ’tis true, at an end ; but others may arise,
‘ and therefore it was very natural, and even ne-
‘ cessary, I think, for his Majesty, the next time
‘ he met his Parliament, to recommend unity and
‘ concord, and to exhort us to avoid heats and
‘ animosities.

animosities. He does not so much as suppose there are any at present subsisting: He gives us only a gracious exhortation to avoid such in time to come: This surely can never be taken amiss in any country, or at any time; and much less in a free country, where divisions, heats and animosities are apt to arise, notwithstanding the utmost caution; and at the beginning of a heavy and dangerous war, when they may be of more pernicious consequence than at any other time.

Having thus explained to your Lordships, what is meant by that paragraph in his Majesty's speech, in which divisions, heats, and animosities are mentioned, I hope it will appear, that no reasonable objection can be made to it: I hope it will appear, that it is only a general exhortation to peace and unity; and shall we so much neglect, or rather, in my opinion, condemn such a kind, such a gracious, and such a fatherly exhortation, as not to make the least return to it in our address? What the noble Lord has proposed, is, I think, the least return we can make: His Lordship's proposition, like what his Majesty has said in his speech, does not relate to the present time, nor to any particular division that has been amongst us. It is only a general declaration, that we will promote harmony and unanimity in time to come. This is, I hope, what every Lord in this house is resolved on, and therefore, I hope, no Lord will oppose our giving his Majesty and his allies the satisfaction, and his and our enemies the mortification, to declare it in the terms proposed, or in more express terms, if such could be contrived and were thought necessary.

The

The Earl of *Winchelsea* was the next that spoke, the purport of whose speech was as follows, *viz.*

‘ My Lords,

Earl of
Winchelsea’s
speech.

‘ If I were to consider his Majesty’s speech
‘ from the throne, as a speech really framed by
‘ himself, and without the advice of any of his
‘ ministers, I should be apt to join with the noble
‘ Lord that spoke last, in looking upon it as a
‘ fatherly and tender exhortation ; but it is well
‘ known, that in this house we always do, nay,
‘ we ought to consider his Majesty’s speech as
‘ the speech of his minister ; and, when I con-
‘ sider it in that light, I cannot look upon that
‘ part of it, which relates to divisions, heats and
‘ animosities, as a friendly exhortation : I must
‘ look upon it as a designed reflection upon those,
‘ who, not only last year, but for many years
‘ preceding, took the liberty to condemn his tame
‘ submissions and pacifick negotiations, which
‘ have, as was long since foretold, at last ended
‘ in an open and declared war ; and that at a sea-
‘ son, which, if we consider the present situation
‘ of affairs in *Europe*, we must allow to be the
‘ most unlucky for this nation, of any we could
‘ have chosen, ever since *Spain* began to insult
‘ and plunder, and he to negotiate and submit.

‘ In this light, I say, my Lords, I must con-
‘ sider it, and I consider it in this light, because
‘ we have of late years had no appearance of any
‘ division, much less of any heat or animosity,
‘ but what has been occasioned by his measures.
‘ We have lately had none of those party divi-
‘ sions amongst us, with which this nation used
‘ formerly to be perplexed : The Jacobite party is
‘ now, thank God ! entirely broke : Whig and
‘ Tory, High church and Low, have been many
‘ years

‘ years ago quite forgot : We are all united in a
‘ resolution to support and preserve our constitu-
‘ tion under the present happy establishment :
‘ Nothing like a division has for many years ap-
‘ peared amongst us, but what was occasioned by
‘ some ministerial measure, which was thought
‘ ruinous to the trade, or inconsistent with the
‘ honour of the nation ; and in such circum-
‘ stances, when the minister comes and tells us,
‘ that heats and animosities have been, with the
‘ greatest industry, fomented throughout the
‘ kingdom ; that our divisions have encouraged
‘ our neighbours to use us ill ; and that we ought
‘ to avoid all such for the future ; I must look
‘ upon it as a designed reflection upon those, who
‘ have found fault with any of his measures in
‘ time past, and as an imperious sort of exhorta-
‘ tion to approve and submit blindly, in time to
‘ come, to every thing he may vouchsafe to pro-
‘ pose to us, and to every measure he may think
‘ fit to pursue.

‘ This, my Lords, is the construction that must
‘ be put upon what is said in his Majesty’s speech
‘ about divisions, heats, and animosities, by every
‘ Lord who considers the speech in that light, in
‘ which alone it ought to be considered in this
‘ house. This is what could not but be foreseen
‘ by those who advised the speech ; and therefore,
‘ if they have this day heard any unwelcome and
‘ galling truths relating to their past conduct ; if
‘ their past measures have not been allowed to
‘ sink into that oblivion they deserve ; those who
‘ advised the speech have themselves only to
‘ blame ; for when an opposition, that experience
‘ as well as reason has justify’d, is called animosi-
‘ ty, and is assigned as the cause of that misfor-
‘ tune, which evidently proceeded, not from the
‘ opposition, but from the measures that were op-
‘ posed, it became necessary for those who had
‘ joined

‘ joined in that opposition, to justify their oppo-
‘ sition, by exposing, and again demonstrating,
‘ the weakness of those measures they had oppo-
‘ sed. The disagreement therefore that has this
‘ day happened amongst us, and which ought,
‘ certainly, by all means to have been prevented,
‘ is not owing to those who have this day found
‘ fault with past measures, but to those who most
‘ unnecessarily, I shall not say arrogantly, revived
‘ the memory of them, by giving the invidious
‘ names of division, heat, and animosity, to the
‘ opposition that was made to them.

‘ From this consideration, every Lord that
‘ has this day found fault with any of our
‘ late measures, must be justified, and from this
‘ likewise, I hope, I shall be justified, in taking
‘ some notice of what has been this day said in
‘ favour of our late convention with *Spain*. The
‘ disadvantages and dishonour of that treaty were
‘ last session so fully exposed, that I should not
‘ have given your Lordships the pain to hear that
‘ treaty again mentioned, if some arguments had
‘ not been now advanced in its vindication, that
‘ neither were, nor could be made use of, when
‘ it was last year under our consideration. We
‘ have been told, my Lords, that this treaty now
‘ appears to have been an honourable and advan-
‘ tageous treaty for this nation, because *Spain* refu-
‘ sed to perform it on their part. So far otherwise,
‘ that their refusing to pay the 95,000*l.* confirms
‘ what was said last year by those that opposed
‘ our approving of the treaty. They then fore-
‘ told, that *Spain* would not pay a shilling of that
‘ money, unless our *South-Sea* company first paid
‘ them the 68,000*l.* they demanded; and the
‘ event has confirmed what was then prophesied;
‘ which shews, that the treaty was really more
‘ dishonourable, than what upon the face of it
‘ appeared; though even this pretty clearly ap-
‘ peared,

‘ peared, by the King of *Spain*’s declaration,
‘ which our negotiators had, it seems, accepted
‘ of as the condition upon which his very sign-
‘ ing, and much more his performing of that
‘ treaty, was to be proceeded on. Their insisting
‘ upon our receiving that declaration, shewed the
‘ contempt they had of our conduct, and their
‘ adhering so closely to what they thereby de-
‘ clared, was only a farther and a stronger mani-
‘ festation of that contempt.

‘ Another new argument this day made use of
‘ in favour of that convention, is, that it was
‘ necessary for us to prepare for war before we de-
‘ clared it; and that the convention gave us time
‘ to be prepared for war, and to send notice to
‘ our merchants to remove their ships and effects
‘ out of the *Spanish* dominions, which we could
‘ not otherwise have had. This argument, my
‘ Lords, is built upon the supposition of a fact,
‘ which every one knows to be false. Did we
‘ make the least preparation for war during the
‘ four months the convention held us in suspense?
‘ Did we in all that time give the least hint to our
‘ merchants to withdraw their effects? It is well
‘ known, that we did not begin to prepare for
‘ war till the month of *June* last, nor did we send
‘ notice to our merchants to withdraw their ef-
‘ fects, till the month of *July*; and might not
‘ this have been done in the month of *June* or
‘ *July* was a twelve-month, as well as in the
‘ month of *June* or *July* last? Certainly it might.
‘ Nay, we can always, in a month’s time, pre-
‘ pare sufficiently for commencing a war against
‘ *Spain* alone, and therefore have no occasion for
‘ entering into a dishonourable negotiation, much
‘ less for concluding a dishonourable treaty with
‘ them for such a purpose.

‘ As these, my Lords, are the only new argu-
‘ ments I have this day heard in favour of that
‘ most

‘ most dishonourable treaty, I shall give your
‘ Lordships no farther trouble upon a subject, that
‘ I shall always mention with reluctance, because
‘ the least mention of it must, I think, be grating
‘ to every man that hears it, if he has any regard
‘ for the honour or interest of this kingdom.
‘ What I have said, when added to what has been
‘ before said upon the same subject, will sufficiently
‘ justify the opposition that was made to it; there-
‘ fore, I must think, it was wrong to advise the
‘ inserting of any thing in his Majesty’s speech,
‘ that might seem to cast a reflection upon that
‘ opposition; and consequently, I must be against
‘ our enforcing, and, as it were, redoubling that
‘ reflection, by any words in our address. I know,
‘ that the custom of echoing back (I must, my
‘ Lords, make use of the word *echo*; if I knew a
‘ more burlesque word, or a word that more
‘ strongly shewed my contempt, I would certainly
‘ use it) I say, my Lords, I know that the custom
‘ of echoing back his Majesty’s speech from the
‘ throne, in the address of this house, is of some
‘ standing; but I likewise know, that ministers
‘ have, ever since that custom began, had more
‘ influence in Parliament, than they had in former
‘ reigns, and more, perhaps, than they ought to
‘ have in any reign. Such a custom is rather a
‘ sign of complaisance to the minister, than of re-
‘ spect to the Sovereign. The greatest and best
‘ sign of respect we can shew to the Sovereign, is
‘ sincerity; and, if this custom continues for any
‘ time longer, our sincerity to our Sovereign will,
‘ I am afraid, be lost in a fawning complaisance to
‘ his minister.

‘ Let us therefore, my Lords, take this oppor-
‘ tunity, which I think a good one, to interrupt
‘ the custom, lest it should, as other customs have
‘ done, become common law, which the lawyers
‘ say is common reason, even though it be incon-
‘ sistent

‘ sistent with the reason of every man but a law-
‘ yer. But, if your Lordships are resolved, that
‘ your address shall be a compleat and faithful echo
‘ to the speech, I think, you should go farther
‘ than has yet been proposed: I think you should
‘ take special care to declare it as your opinion,
‘ that the heats and animosities fomented amongst
‘ us, has been one of the chief encouragements to
‘ the court of *Spain*, to hold such a conduct to-
‘ wards this nation, as to make it necessary to have
‘ recourse to arms; because, this I take to be, with
‘ regard to the minister, the most important sen-
‘ tence in the whole speech; and therefore ought
‘ not, surely, to be neglected by those, who think
‘ that every material sentence in his Majesty’s
‘ speech ought to be most dutifully echoed back
‘ to the throne by the address of this house.’

The Duke of *Argyle* rose up next, and spoke to
this effect, *viz.*

‘ My Lords,

‘ I must begin what I have to say to your Lord-
‘ ships upon this occasion, with observing, that I
‘ am very much disappointed in the hopes, I with
‘ pleasure entertained for some time, before we
‘ met in this house. Our situation before this
‘ session opened, was very different from what it
‘ was before the opening of the last. We had
‘ then just received the sorrowful tidings of a new
‘ convention between us and *Spain*, which, before
‘ we saw it, had great encomiums bestowed upon
‘ it, by those who had been concerned in the ne-
‘ gotiation. This new treaty was to put a happy
‘ and an honourable end to all our differences with
‘ *Spain*. It was to give reparation to our injured
‘ merchants, and to procure satisfaction to the na-
‘ tion, and security to our trade in time to come.
‘ In short, it was to give us all we wanted, and
‘ more

Duke of
Argyle’s
speech.

‘ more than we could have expected. But these
‘ encomiums I could put no faith in. I knew the
‘ haughtiness of those we had been treating with;
‘ I knew the contemptible opinion they had of the
‘ persons they treated with; and therefore, I ex-
‘ pected, that this new treaty would resemble some
‘ former treaties we have lately made, in nothing
‘ so much as in dishonour and disgrace. This
‘ made me expect to see, during that session, great
‘ contention within doors, and great murmurings
‘ and discontents without; and in this I was not
‘ disappointed.

‘ But before the opening of this session, my
‘ Lords, we were in a very different situation.
‘ Our negotiations, with *Spain* at least, were, thank
‘ God! at an end. A war was actually declared,
‘ which was what all, but a very few amongst us,
‘ had long and ardently wished for; and this na-
‘ tion was in a way, by which we have never fail-
‘ ed doing ourselves justice, when our arms were
‘ prudently and vigorously conducted. From this
‘ situation, I expected to see nothing, during this
‘ session of Parliament, but concord and unanimity
‘ within doors, and joy and acclamations without.
‘ I expected to hear nothing of past measures,
‘ especially from those who could not be insensible
‘ of the discontents their past measures had occa-
‘ sioned. I expected nothing but a most cordial
‘ and unanimous concurrence in proper measures
‘ for enabling his Majesty to convince our enemies,
‘ that we are better fighters than negotiators; and
‘ that though they had for many years eluded the
‘ force of our rhetorick, they should be unable to
‘ elude, for as many months, the force of our
‘ arms.

‘ These, my Lords, I say, were my expectations
‘ before the opening of this session of Parliament,
‘ and in these, I can assure your Lordships, I took
‘ great delight. But those who had the advising
‘ and

‘ and drawing up of this speech now under our
‘ consideration, have, I find, taken the very first
‘ opportunity to disappoint me in my hopes. In-
‘ stead of applying to us in a modest, prudent,
‘ and conciliating manner, for those supplies that
‘ may be necessary for carrying on the war; they
‘ have begun with throwing unjust and ill-ground-
‘ ed reflections upon their country, and upon all
‘ those that opposed the fruitless and destructive
‘ measures they took for preventing it: Measures,
‘ which every one foresaw would be fruitless, be-
‘ fore the event shewed them to be so; and mea-
‘ sures, which, in the mean time, ruined the trade,
‘ exhausted the treasure, and exposed the character
‘ of their country.

‘ ‘ This, my Lords, to me looks as if they were
‘ more solicitous about justifying their pacifick
‘ measures, than they are about meriting the ap-
‘ probation of their country as to their warlike;
‘ and this, I must say, is but a bad omen of our
‘ future success, if they be intrusted with the con-
‘ duct of the war; for nothing can contribute more
‘ to the justification of their late pacifick schemes,
‘ than an unfortunate issue of the war we are now
‘ engaged in.

‘ I shall grant, my Lords, that an advice or
‘ caution against divisions, heats, and animosities,
‘ has been often repeated to us in speeches from
‘ the throne; and I do not at all wonder at it, for
‘ nothing is so like one minister as another minister.
‘ Ministers must always be, they ought to be, the
‘ advisers of the King’s speech to his Parliament.
‘ As great a man, and as good a judge of our con-
‘ stitution, as ever sat in this house, often gave it
‘ as his opinion, that if ministers were not, they
‘ ought to be the advisers of every speech the
‘ King makes from the throne, and were answer-
‘ able for every expression made use of upon such
‘ occasions; therefore we are not to be surprized

‘ at the frequent repetition we find of this caution
‘ against heats and animosities; for ministers are
‘ apt to look upon every opposition to their mea-
‘ sures as an animosity; and peevish ministers often
‘ prevail with their master to declare it so from the
‘ throne; but however this may serve the peevish-
‘ ness of a minister, it is of great disadvantage to
‘ the crown, because it engages the King in the
‘ party with his minister, which is very seldom
‘ either the honestest or most numerous party in
‘ the kingdom.

‘ For this reason, my Lords, I shall never think
‘ it very dutiful in a minister to put such a caution
‘ in the mouth of his Sovereign; and to put such
‘ a caution or advice into the King’s speech, at a
‘ time when there neither is, nor has been, any
‘ division, heat, or animosity, in the kingdom,
‘ but such as have been occasioned by his measures,
‘ I shall always think, in some degree, criminal.
‘ In former reigns, particularly in King *William’s*
‘ reign, there was some reason for the Sovereign’s
‘ giving a caution to his Parliament against divi-
‘ sions, heats, and animosities, because there were
‘ contending parties in the kingdom, which no
‘ way proceeded from any publick measures pur-
‘ sued by the ministers; but, in this reign, there
‘ have been no such parties; and yet, these exhor-
‘ tations have been oftner made use of in this reign,
‘ than in any former: I think they have been in
‘ the speech at the opening of every session since
‘ the famous *excise scheme*, except the first session
‘ of this Parliament, when the complexion of the
‘ other house was not perhaps so well known as it
‘ was soon after.

‘ Who was the author or drawer-up of the
‘ speech now under our consideration, I do not
‘ pretend to know; but in this house, my Lords,
‘ it is certain, we are not to say, the King was:
‘ We must suppose it was some of his Majesty’s
‘ ministers;

‘ ministers; and considering there is now the great-
‘ est unanimity that, I believe, ever was in this
‘ nation, considering there has not lately been any
‘ division, heat, or animosity in the kingdom, un-
‘ less that opposition be called so, which was made
‘ to their late pacifick schemes, I cannot think it
‘ was right or modest in them, to put those ex-
‘ pressions in his Majesty’s speech, which are now
‘ found fault with. The noble Lord who spoke
‘ last but one says, they do not relate to the pre-
‘ sent time, or to any particular measure. I must
‘ beg pardon to differ from him, though I am far
‘ from pretending to be so good a judge of lan-
‘ guage as he is. The expressions both in the
‘ speech, and in the address proposed, plainly re-
‘ late to the present time. His Majesty says, *the*
‘ *unhappy divisions amongst my subjects*, are *the only*
‘ *hopes of the enemies to my government*: Do not
‘ these words, does not the word, *are*, in particu-
‘ lar, relate to the present time? Again, with re-
‘ gard to the address proposed, can we with any
‘ propriety say, that nothing shall be wanting on
‘ our part to heal up our divisions, if there are
‘ none such now subsisting in the kingdom? Can
‘ we say, that his Majesty had *any occasion* to re-
‘ peat his admonitions, if our divisions are all en-
‘ tirely healed up, and no such thing as any heats
‘ or animosities in the kingdom? As to the mea-
‘ sures, my Lords, which those expressions were
‘ designed to relate to, I shall not pretend to de-
‘ termine; but I know of no publick measure that
‘ has been lately opposed with any sort of warmth,
‘ but our negotiations with *Spain*, and the conven-
‘ tion, that was the unhappy issue of those nego-
‘ tiations; and I cannot think it right to say, that
‘ those who opposed these measures, or indeed any
‘ measures, were industrious fomenters of heats
‘ and animosities, which is expressly said both in
‘ the speech, and in what the noble Lord has pro-
‘ posed

‘ posed to be our address by way of answer to that
‘ speech. In this country, and by our constitution,
‘ whoever thinks any publick measure inconsistent
‘ with the happiness of his country, has a right,
‘ nay, he is in duty bound, to take every legal
‘ method he can think of, to warn the people of
‘ their danger: He is not, for that reason, to be
‘ called a fomentor of heats and animosities: No
‘ man will call him so, but a peevish assuming
‘ minister, who, by a long possession of too much
‘ power, begins to think, that no man in the king-
‘ dom ought to oppose his good will and pleasure.
‘ I must likewise observe, my Lords, that I
‘ differ from the same noble Lord in another thing
‘ he was pleased to advance. I must think, that
‘ a division between the people of one side, and
‘ the ministers of the other, is such a division as
‘ may exist, even in this country. I shall grant,
‘ that ministers must always have a party for their
‘ support; but when that party consists of men
‘ that list themselves in the minister’s party, not
‘ because they approve his measures, but because
‘ they receive his pay, I cannot look upon them
‘ as any part of the people: I must look upon
‘ them, as well as him, as the enemies of the peo-
‘ ple; and the more of them he has in his pay,
‘ the more criminal he must always be. If such a
‘ minister and such a party should ever happen, to
‘ our misfortune, to exist in this kingdom, they
‘ would, it is true, be the King’s subjects; but,
‘ like other criminals, they would be such subjects
‘ as ought to be hanged. I shall also grant that,
‘ whilst our constitution remains entire, no such
‘ minister can long stand his ground in this king-
‘ dom; because, if our Parliament should be allow-
‘ ed to sit, and if both houses should continue as
‘ incorrupt as, I hope, they are at present, such a
‘ minister would soon, by a parliamentary prosecu-
‘ tion, be brought to what he deserved: But we
‘ know

‘ know that some ministers have found means to
‘ govern, or rather to oppress the nation for several
‘ years, without any Parliament at all; and
‘ others have done the same thing, by means of
‘ a pensionary Parliament. Therefore, such a division
‘ may exist even in this country, though it
‘ has never yet long existed: These over-grown
‘ ministers have generally hitherto fallen a sacrifice
‘ to their own insolence and ambition, soon
‘ after the body of the people declared against
‘ them; but the misfortune is, that the Sovereign
‘ has sometimes been overwhelmed in the
‘ ruins.

‘ I shall always, my Lords, be ready to judge
‘ charitably of other mens conduct, either in
‘ publick or private life. I shall always be ready
‘ to suppose that men act from right principles,
‘ and that they at least think they are doing what
‘ is right; but this rule can take place only in
‘ cases of a disputable nature. If a highway-man
‘ or pick-pocket should tell me, that he thought
‘ he did people a service by robbing them or
‘ picking their pockets, or by holding their hands
‘ and preventing their being able to defend themselves,
‘ or secure the villains that plundered them, I believe
‘ no charity would oblige me to believe such a one to be an honest man; and
‘ much less would complaisance prevail with me,
‘ or a reward induce me, to call him so. In publick
‘ life, it is the same: When a minister engages
‘ in no measures but what may be supposed to be
‘ for the publick good, charity may induce me to believe,
‘ that he thinks he is doing right, though I differ from
‘ him in opinion; and such a minister, though his measures
‘ be found fault with by some, yet he may depend upon
‘ having always a great part of the people of his side;
‘ but when a minister engages in such measures as
‘ evidently tend to the ruin of his country, there

‘ is no room for charity, one must believe him
‘ to be either an egregious fool, or an arrant
‘ knave.

‘ This, my Lords, must be every honest man’s
‘ way of judging, in cases that admit of no
‘ dispute; but, even in cases that are disputable,
‘ though charity obliges me to believe that mi-
‘ nisters think their measures calculated for the
‘ good of their country, yet, if I think other-
‘ wise, I am obliged to oppose them, and may
‘ take such legal methods as I think fit, to pre-
‘ vent or defeat them, without deserving to be
‘ called a fomentor of heats or animosities. This
‘ was the case, with regard to the late conven-
‘ tion: It was thought, by many, to be a most
‘ scandalous and destructive treaty: I thought so
‘ as soon as I saw it: I think so still; for I do not
‘ think myself in the least concluded by the side-
‘ wind approbation it met with. A treaty’s be-
‘ ing approved by a majority in Parliament, does
‘ not oblige the minority to approve of it. Your
‘ Lordships have all a right to shew that you dis-
‘ approve of what meets with the approbation
‘ of the majority, and to leave a testimony of
‘ your disapprobation upon record. Nay, even
‘ a future Parliament is not obliged to approve of
‘ what, perhaps, met with a very general appro-
‘ bation in the preceding. The treaty of *Utrecht*
‘ was approved of by a majority in both houses
‘ of Parliament. I remember, I then disapproved
‘ of it, and gave my sentiments very freely in
‘ this house against it; and I remember the re-
‘ ward I met with for so doing. That very treaty
‘ was, in a future Parliament, so highly disap-
‘ proved of, that some of those who had the
‘ chief hand in making it, were punished by Par-
‘ liament; and others had, perhaps, been more
‘ severely punished, if they had not fled from
‘ justice. This, my Lords, may perhaps be the
‘ fate

‘ fate of the convention in some future Parlia-
‘ ment, though the father of it seems now ex-
‘ tremely fond of his child; for I cannot but look
‘ upon his Majesty’s speech, and the address now
‘ proposed, as a second approbation of that con-
‘ vention; I must think them designed as a new
‘ triumph over those that opposed it, which can
‘ give no great joy to the nation, whatever it
‘ may do to the father of the convention; and
‘ therefore I wish that, in order to make his
‘ country rejoice as well as himself, he would
‘ hereafter take as much care to triumph over
‘ those that broke it, as he now takes to triumph
‘ over those that opposed it.

‘ This second approbation, this new triumph,
‘ I should have been easy about, I should have
‘ given myself no trouble in opposing it, if I had
‘ not thought it an encroachment upon the con-
‘ stitution of my country, and an imposition
‘ upon my Royal Master. I think it a most dan-
‘ gerous encroachment upon the freedom of our
‘ constitution, to have the legal opposers of any
‘ publick measure represented as fomenters of
‘ heats and animosities, and promoters of divisi-
‘ ons among the people. If they had been guilty
‘ of any illegal or violent practices, there might
‘ have been some room for giving them such
‘ hard names; but, as no such practices have
‘ been lately attempted, it must be allowed, by
‘ every one who understands our constitution, to
‘ be a downright misrepresentation; and it is a
‘ most dangerous imposition upon our Sovereign,
‘ to make him the author of such a misrepresen-
‘ tation. I must likewise look upon it as a most
‘ dangerous imposition, to make him believe,
‘ that there are unhappy divisions, or any divi-
‘ sions, amongst his subjects, from whence his
‘ enemies can have the least room to hope for
‘ success. I wish they may have no other foun-
‘ dation

‘ dation to build their hopes on ; for, if they
‘ have not, they will soon see that they have no-
‘ thing to hope for, but from his Majesty’s
‘ justice and moderation.

‘ Whatever disputes our late pacifick measures
‘ occasioned, and these were the only disputes
‘ that can be said to have produced any divisions,
‘ or any thing like heats or animosities amongst
‘ us, they are all now happily ended by his Ma-
‘ jesty’s declaration of war. That declaration,
‘ my Lords, I must join with a noble Lord that
‘ spoke some time ago, in applauding. I think it
‘ is extremely right : It is well and strongly word-
‘ ed : The facts are well chosen, and the thoughts
‘ expressed with great energy ; but I must observe,
‘ that it is a sort of summary of the arguments
‘ made use of last year against the convention,
‘ and part of it, I believe, expressed almost in the
‘ very words of the protest signed by many of
‘ your Lordships upon that occasion, and entered
‘ upon the journals of this house, as a testimony
‘ to posterity, of your having disapproved of
‘ what was then agreed to by a majority. This
‘ declaration, my Lords, has given full satisfac-
‘ tion to every man that was displeased with our
‘ former pacifick measures ; and surely, no man
‘ can suppose, that it is disagreeable to those that
‘ advised it. It is therefore unjust to say, that
‘ there are any divisions in this nation : It was
‘ wrong to say so to his Majesty : It was more
‘ wrong to advise him to say so in his speech from
‘ the throne ; and it would be still more wrong in
‘ us to confirm that misrepresentation, by any sort
‘ of insinuation in our address.

‘ War, my Lords, was what the whole nation,
‘ except a very few, long since desired. The
‘ few that were against it have done what was
‘ their duty : They have yielded to the general
‘ voice of their country ; and the war is now de-
‘ clared.

' clared. I have already said, and I must again
 ' say, that I thank God for it; for I think
 ' it a most providential war for this nation. It
 ' could be nothing but Providence that could so
 ' harden the hearts, or rather blind the under-
 ' standings of the *Spaniards*, as to make them
 ' refuse or neglect to perform, on their part, a
 ' treaty which was both honourable and advanta-
 ' geous for them, but most inglorious and de-
 ' structive for us. To us it would have been
 ' most unlucky, if they had paid the sum stipu-
 ' lated by that treaty. It was a Providence most
 ' propitious to this nation, that put them into a
 ' humour to hold us in such contempt as to re-
 ' fuse making that payment, which they had so
 ' solemnly promised; and as Providence has been
 ' favourable to us in forcing us into the war, I
 ' hope it will be as favourable to us in the prose-
 ' cution. It is hardly possible the event should be
 ' unfortunate for this nation, unless we render it
 ' so by our own conduct; and as an uncorrupt
 ' and independent Parliament is the best check
 ' upon a minister's conduct, I shall look on it as
 ' a bad omen of our future conduct, if we should,
 ' in this first session, after the commencement of
 ' the war, shew so much complaisance to any mi-
 ' nister, as to confirm a misrepresentation made
 ' by him to the crown, especially as that misre-
 ' presentation is of such a nature, that if it be
 ' believed, it must render our enemies more obsti-
 ' nate, and our friends less ready to join in any
 ' alliance with us.'

The Duke of *Argyle* having thus ended his dis-
 course, the Lord Chancellor again rose up and
 observed, ' That although an objection had been
 ' made to some part of the noble Lord's propo-
 ' sition for an address, and a long debate had en-
 ' sued, yet no motion had been regularly made
 ' for

Lord Chan-
 cellor's
 speech.

‘ for an amendment ; therefore, he thought it
 ‘ his duty to take notice, that if they insisted
 ‘ upon their objection, it would be necessary to
 ‘ mention the words to be left out, and to think
 ‘ of some words to be put in their stead ; after
 ‘ which, the question he was to put, would be,
 ‘ Whether the words proposed to be left out
 ‘ should stand part of the motion.’

Upon this the Lord *Bathurst* stood up, and spoke to this effect, *viz.*

‘ My Lords,

Lord Bathurst's
speech.

‘ The words objected to, have been already
 ‘ mentioned, and I do not think it necessary to
 ‘ propose any words to be put in their stead, till
 ‘ the question be first put, Whether or no they
 ‘ shall stand part of the motion. If that question
 ‘ be carried in the negative, it will then be time
 ‘ enough to think, whether any, and what words
 ‘ ought, to be inserted in the room of those left
 ‘ out. This, I think, my Lords, is the parlia-
 ‘ mentary way of proceeding ; and the objections
 ‘ have been already so fully explained, and the
 ‘ reasonableness of them so strongly enforced, that
 ‘ I think it unnecessary for me to add any thing
 ‘ further upon the subject. What the next que-
 ‘ stion may be, I shall not pretend to say, nor is
 ‘ it necessary I should. Perhaps it may be, To
 ‘ address his Majesty to know who advised him
 ‘ to put into his speech that paragraph, which has
 ‘ been found fault with in this debate. Even this
 ‘ would be parliamentary ; but whether your
 ‘ Lordships will think proper to go so far, I do
 ‘ not know. However, my Lords, to obviate
 ‘ the present seeming difficulty, I shall make you
 ‘ the motion for an amendment, in form, thus :
 ‘ That the motion made by the noble Lord,
 ‘ should be amended by leaving out the words,
 ‘ That

‘ *That it gives us inexpressible concern, &c. as far*
‘ *as the words, That we are determined—*

The Earl of *Ila* stood up and spoke next,
whose speech was in substance thus:

‘ My Lords,

‘ The noble Lord upon the wool-sack did not
‘ find fault with your Lordships manner of pro-
‘ ceeding: He only mentioned what was proper
‘ to be done; and when there is any defect or
‘ omission as to the form of your proceedings, it
‘ is his duty to acquaint you with it, and to in-
‘ form you of what ought to be done. I shall
‘ grant, it is not absolutely necessary to mention
‘ before-hand, whether any, and what words are
‘ to be put instead of those proposed to be left
‘ out; but it is usual, and even candor seems to
‘ require it, because from thence several Lords may
‘ determine how to vote upon the first question.

Earl of *Ila*'s
speech.

‘ As to the words objected to, I cannot, for
‘ my part, see the least occasion for leaving them
‘ out: I even think it necessary to keep them in.
‘ I shall admit, my Lords, that the late conduct
‘ of *Spain*, especially their non-performance of
‘ what they promised by the late convention, has
‘ rendered us unanimous for war. But war or no
‘ war, was not the only dispute or division a-
‘ mongst us. There have been many others,
‘ some of which still subsist; and whatever there
‘ may be within doors, I am certain there are still
‘ great heats and animosities without. Are there
‘ not seditious libels now printed and dispersed?
‘ Are there not malicious stories spread against the
‘ government daily? Sometimes it is said, That
‘ we are not yet in earnest as to the war:
‘ At other times it is said, That, notwith-
‘ standing our declaration of war, we dare not
‘ strike a stroke. Many such false and scan-
‘ dalous opinions are with great industry propa-
‘ gated.

‘gated. All the measures of our government
 ‘are misrepresented to this very day. Even the
 ‘proceedings of this house are libelled, not only
 ‘in conversation, but in print. Is not every
 ‘Lord sensible of this? Do not your Lordships
 ‘all know it? And in such circumstances, was it
 ‘not extremely proper for his Majesty to caution
 ‘us against divisions, heats, and animosities? Will
 ‘it not be necessary for us to declare in our ad-
 ‘dress, That we shall endeavour to avoid adding
 ‘fuel to the heats and animosities without doors,
 ‘by our disputes and divisions within?’

The last who spoke in this debate was the
 Earl of *Halifax*, the purport of whose speech
 was thus:

‘My Lords,

Earl of *Hali-*
fax's speech
 and amend-
 ment.

‘I am not yet convinced that the words ex-
 ‘cepted against ought to stand part of this ad-
 ‘dress. I think, my Lords, it is on all hands
 ‘agreed, that this house at least is unanimous;
 ‘why then should we insert any thing which may
 ‘make his Majesty and the world think that we
 ‘are divided? But as the noble Lord objects that
 ‘no motion has been made upon this question,
 ‘I have taken the liberty to draw out a motion
 ‘for an amendment, which I hope will meet
 ‘with your Lordships approbation. I humbly
 ‘move, my Lords, that the following words be
 ‘inserted as part of this resolution, *That it gives*
 ‘*us inexpressible concern, that it has been repre-*
 ‘*sented to your Majesty that any divisions or animo-*
 ‘*sities subsist in this house. We assure your Majesty*
 ‘*that we are at present all of one mind, and that*
 ‘*we will shew it, by unanimously supporting your*
 ‘*Majesty in the vigorous prosecution of this just*
 ‘*and necessary war.*’

At

At last the question was put, if the words proposed to be left out should stand part of the motion; and, upon a division, was carried in the affirmative, 68 contents, to 41 not contents. After which the question was put upon the motion, and agreed to without a division.

The address drawn up and presented to his Majesty, in pursuance of this resolution, was as follows:

‘ *Most gracious Sovereign,*

‘ **W**E your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal Lords address, with his Majesty’s answer.
 ‘ subjects, the Lords spiritual and tempo-
 ‘ ral in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return
 ‘ your Majesty our sincere and humble thanks for
 ‘ your most gracious speech from the throne.

‘ The great regard, which your Majesty hath
 ‘ expressed for the sense of both houses of Parlia-
 ‘ ment, in your proceedings with the court of
 ‘ *Spain*, is a continuance of that Royal goodness,
 ‘ and concern for the true interest of your people,
 ‘ which we have so often experienced; and your
 ‘ Majesty’s desire to have the advice and assistance
 ‘ of your Parliament, as early as possible, in this
 ‘ important conjuncture, is a fresh proof of your
 ‘ real confidence in your faithful subjects.

‘ The justice and necessity of the war, which
 ‘ your Majesty has been pleased to declare against
 ‘ *Spain*, must be as demonstrable to all the world,
 ‘ as the violent and intolerable methods practised
 ‘ by that nation, to interrupt and distress the na-
 ‘ vigation and commerce of these kingdoms, are
 ‘ notorious; and it is the highest aggravation of
 ‘ this offensive and inexcusable conduct, that it
 ‘ has been obstinately pursued, in breach of the
 ‘ most solemn engagements, and in defiance of
 ‘ the highest obligations of friendship and good
 ‘ offices. But since *Great Britain* has been thus
 ‘ unavoidably

‘ unavoidably called forth to arms, we esteem it
 ‘ our peculiar felicity, that we have a Prince upon
 ‘ the throne, who, with paternal tenderness,
 ‘ joins in the just resentment of an injured nation;
 ‘ and whose magnanimity and steadiness are equal
 ‘ to the glorious cause, in which he is engaged.

‘ On this occasion, the unfeigned tender of
 ‘ our lives and fortunes is no more than is due to
 ‘ your Majesty, and our country; and we do,
 ‘ from the bottom of our hearts, give your Ma-
 ‘ jesty the strongest assurances, that we will
 ‘ zealously concur in all such measures, as may
 ‘ forward your preparations, and enable you to
 ‘ carry on the war with that spirit and vigour,
 ‘ which truly become the *British* name.

‘ Your Majesty’s goodness in acquainting us
 ‘ from the throne, that you have augmented
 ‘ your forces by sea and land, pursuant to the
 ‘ power given you by Parliament, with all the
 ‘ moderation that was consistent with those de-
 ‘ sirable ends, which you, in your Royal wis-
 ‘ dom, have pointed out to us, is an instance of
 ‘ your Majesty’s gracious disposition to avoid
 ‘ bringing any unnecessary burdens upon your
 ‘ people: And though we cannot flatter our-
 ‘ selves, that a state of war will not be attended
 ‘ with great expences, and some inconveniencies;
 ‘ yet, when it is undertaken, not to gratify the
 ‘ views of restless ambition, but to assert and
 ‘ maintain the honour and just rights of your
 ‘ Majesty’s crown and kingdoms, we doubt not,
 ‘ but those powerful motives, will induce all
 ‘ your subjects to undergo with cheerfulness,
 ‘ whatever is necessary in the prosecution of it.

‘ It gives us inexpressible concern, that there
 ‘ should be any occasion for your Majesty to
 ‘ repeat your gracious admonitions against those
 ‘ heats and animosities, which have been foment-
 ‘ ed throughout the kingdom. As we cannot

‘ but most seriously lament the unhappy divisions
‘ thereby occasioned; so nothing shall be wanting
‘ on our part to heal them, by promoting that
‘ good harmony and unanimity, which are so ne-
‘ cessary at this juncture: And we trust in God,
‘ that any hopes or views formed by our enemies
‘ upon such circumstances, will be found utterly
‘ vain and groundless; since all your Majesty’s
‘ subjects must be convinced, that the security of
‘ our religion and liberties, and the safety and
‘ prosperity of these kingdoms do entirely depend
‘ on the preservation of your sacred person and
‘ government, and of the Protestant succession in
‘ your Royal House.

‘ In this common cause, interest, as well as
‘ duty, will make us unite; and we do with the
‘ greatest zeal and firmness assure your Majesty,
‘ that we are determined, at the hazard of all
‘ that is dear to us, to support it against all your
‘ enemies, both at home and abroad; imploring
‘ the divine Providence to give success to your
‘ arms, and make them the happy means of pro-
‘ curing a safe and honourable peace.’

His Majesty’s most gracious answer.

My Lords,

I *THANK* you for this address, so full of duty
and affection to me, and of seasonable assurances
of your vigorous support. The satisfaction you ex-
press in the measures I have taken, is very agreeable
to me; and you may depend on my endeavours to
carry on the war in such a manner, as may best
answer the necessary ends proposed by it, and the just
expectations of my people.

The Commons being returned to their house,
and the speech read by Mr. Speaker, *Henry*
Archer, Esq; stood up, and spoke as follows:

‘ Sir,

Mr. Archer's
speech and
motion for
an address
from the
Commons.

‘ Sir, As his Majesty has been pleas’d to de-
‘ clare in his most gracious speech from the
‘ throne, that he has call’d us together so much
‘ earlier than usual, that he might take the im-
‘ mediate advice of Parliament at this critical and
‘ important conjuncture; give me leave, Sir, to
‘ express the joy and satisfaction which I have in
‘ beholding so full a house upon this occasion, and
‘ particularly in seeing some gentlemen here again,
‘ whose great talents and experience have render’d
‘ them so able, and I hope I may now say they
‘ are—no less willing, to discharge this great trust
‘ and duty to their King and country.

‘ Sir, the great cause of debate amongst us
‘ the last session is now at an end: We are now
‘ engag’d in an open and declar’d war against a
‘ haughty, insulting enemy, whom neither justice,
‘ nor humanity, the law of nations, nor the sacred
‘ ties of treaties cou’d restrain from committing
‘ unheard of violence and cruelties upon our fel-
‘ low subjects, and even daring to insult the flag
‘ of this nation.

‘ During these provocations we were not insen-
‘ sible of his Majesty’s zeal and impatience to en-
‘ gage in the glorious cause of vindicating the ho-
‘ nour of the *British* crown, and asserting the
‘ rights of his injur’d subjects; but, like a com-
‘ mon father, and preserver of his people, tender
‘ of their lives and welfare, and graciously regard-
‘ ing the advice of his Parliament, he was pleas’d
‘ to interpose his Royal endeavours with the King
‘ of *Spain*, in order to obtain, without the effu-
‘ sion of blood, or calamities of war (which is
‘ the last of all remedies when other trials fail of
‘ success) that justice and satisfaction, which no-
‘ thing but the amazing perfidy and baseness of
‘ the *Spanish* nation could have refused.

‘ And give me leave, Sir, to say, that in this
‘ was

‘ was shewn true fortitude and greatness of mind ;
‘ for ’tis ambition, ’tis wantonness, and military
‘ folly that delights in conquests and laurels ; true
‘ valour knows no other aim than the peace and
‘ happiness of society : But when such measures
‘ did not succeed, when it was found necessary to
‘ have recourse to arms, the same zeal and un-
‘ wearied pains which had been before employ’d
‘ for establishing peace and publick tranquillity,
‘ have been exerted in military preparations, and
‘ armaments by sea and land, in order to annoy
‘ our enemy in the most sensible part : And all
‘ *Europe* must be now convinc’d, not only of the
‘ justice of our cause, but they will judge from
‘ our conduct that we have enter’d into the war
‘ with temper, and are carrying it on with the
‘ spirit and resolution of a brave and provok’d
‘ nation. And ’tis with pleasure, Sir, that every
‘ true *Englishman* must now behold the naval
‘ strength and power of his country, the *British*
‘ fleet, sent forth to avenge our wrongs, spreading
‘ terror round the coasts of our enemy, and
‘ assuming the sovereignty of the sea without
‘ a rival. On the other hand, were we to view
‘ the situation of our enemy, he who so lately
‘ usurp’d a power over our ships at sea, prescribed
‘ a course to our navigation, and vainly laid claim
‘ to part of his Majesty’s dominions at land, to
‘ what is his pride reduc’d ? Not daring to ven-
‘ ture out his fleet at sea, he creeps for safety
‘ within his ports, whilst the *British* cannon is
‘ roaring for vengeance upon his coasts.

‘ In this situation we cannot but express our
‘ satisfaction in his Majesty’s wisdom and conduct,
‘ and in the vigour and steadiness of his resolu-
‘ tions ; nor can we, without ingratitude, forget
‘ his Royal clemency and moderation in time of
‘ peace, and the tender and affectionate concern
‘ which he has shewn for his people ; virtues

‘ which will always endear a Prince to his subjects, and make him no less amiable in peace than formidable in time of war.

‘ And if ever there was a time which call’d for the warmest expressions of duty and affection to the throne, this surely is the time; whilst we are engag’d in a war abroad, and reproach’d, even by our enemies, for our divisions and animosities at home. Who is there, Sir, that can read the King of *Spain*’s manifesto without the utmost concern and indignation? *Great Britain* troubled with intestine divisions! There is the source and spring of our misfortunes; ’tis from thence that our enemies have drawn their hopes of success against us, and form’d such despicable ideas of our strength and power, as to dare to contend with this nation. But, Sir, ’tis not yet too late, we have it still in our power to disappoint their views and expectations: Let us act with union and harmony amongst ourselves; let us join in the common cause of our country, and support his Majesty with vigour and unanimity; and we shall again make the arms of *Great Britain* dreaded throughout *Europe*, and put a speedy end to the war by a glorious and honourable peace; and therefore I shall beg leave to move,

“ That it be resolv’d, That an humble address be presented by this house to his Majesty, to return thanks for his most gracious speech from the throne, and to express our entire satisfaction in his Majesty’s declaration of war against the crown of *Spain*: A war which the repeated violences and depredations committed by that nation upon the trade and commerce of this kingdom, the notorious violation of their most solemn engagements, their obstinate refusal of making reparation for past injuries,

“ and

“ and of giving security against the like for the
“ future, have render'd just and unavoidable.

“ To assure his Majesty, that with the highest
“ sense of duty and gratitude this house acknow-
“ ledges his Majesty's wisdom and paternal care
“ of his people, in making use of the power
“ granted to his Majesty by Parliament, for the
“ security and defence of this nation, for the
“ protection of our trade, and for the distressing
“ and annoying our enemies in the most sensible
“ and effectual manner ; and that nothing shall
“ divert or deter us from sustaining, with satis-
“ faction and chearfulness, any extraordinary ex-
“ pences and inconveniencies that must inevitably
“ attend the various and extensive services, which
“ his Majesty shall find necessary to undertake in
“ vindicating the honour of his crown, in assert-
“ ing the rights of his people, and in procuring
“ justice to an injur'd and provoked nation.

“ To beseech his Majesty to accept the strong-
“ est and most affectionate assurances, that in de-
“ fence of his Majesty's dominions, and in sup-
“ port of the common cause of our country, we
“ will raise such effectual supplies, and with such
“ chearfulness and dispatch, as will forward and
“ give spirit to his Majesty's preparations, and
“ enable his Majesty to carry on the war with
“ vigour.

“ To assure his Majesty, that we being truly
“ sensible of the fatal consequences of intestine
“ heats and animosities, will, with a zeal becom-
“ ing the representatives of the people in Parlia-
“ ment, endeavour to compose those unhappy di-
“ visions which have so long prevail'd among his
“ Majesty's subjects ; and that nothing shall be
“ wanting on the part of this house, to restore to
“ the nation that union and harmony which may
“ effectually defeat and disappoint all the vain
“ projects,

“ projects, hopes, and expectations of his Ma-
 “ jesty’s open and secret enemies both at home and
 “ abroad.”

This motion being seconded, *William Pulteney*,
 Esq; rose and spoke to the following effect.

‘ Mr. Speaker,

Mr. Pulte-
 ney’s speech.

‘ Sir, The honourable gentleman, who made the
 ‘ motion, has said so much in praise of the wisdom
 ‘ and propriety of his Majesty’s and his ministers
 ‘ conduct, that he has left little or no room for
 ‘ me to add any thing to his panegyrick. As to
 ‘ his Majesty, I know that when he is honestly
 ‘ inform’d of the state of the nation, of the distres-
 ‘ ses of his people, and the causes that produced
 ‘ them, none, even of those who labour under the
 ‘ evils, are more desirous of seeing them redress’d:
 ‘ As for his ministers, I have always, when I had
 ‘ an opportunity, endeavour’d to do them justice;
 ‘ I wish that to do them justice and honour had
 ‘ been more frequently the same. But, Sir, before
 ‘ I take any notice of the motion made by the
 ‘ honourable gentleman, I should speak a little
 ‘ with regard to a step taken by some of my friends
 ‘ and myself last session, which we thought neces-
 ‘ sary, as affairs then stood, for clearing our cha-
 ‘ racters to posterity from the imputation of sitting
 ‘ in an assembly, where a determin’d majority gave
 ‘ a sanction to measures, evidently to the disgrace
 ‘ of his Majesty and his kingdom.

‘ This step, (however it has been hitherto cen-
 ‘ sur’d,) will I hope for the future be treated in a
 ‘ different manner, for it is so fully justified by
 ‘ the declaration of war, so universally approv’d,
 ‘ that any further vindication will be superfluous.
 ‘ There is not an assertion maintain’d in it, that was
 ‘ not almost in the same words insisted upon by
 ‘ those who opposed the convention. Every sen-
 ‘ tence

‘ tence in it is an echo of what was said in our
‘ reasonings against that treaty; and every positive
‘ truth, which the declaration lays down, was de-
‘ nied with the utmost confidence by those who
‘ spoke for the convention. Since that time, Sir,
‘ there has not one event happen’d that was not
‘ then foreseen and foretold: But give me leave to
‘ say, Sir, that though the treatment which we
‘ have since received from the court of *Spain* may
‘ have swelled the account, yet it has furnished us
‘ with no new reasons for declaring war; the same
‘ provocations have only been repeated, and no-
‘ thing but longer patience has added to the justice
‘ of our cause. The same violation of treaties, the
‘ same instances of injustice and barbarity, the same
‘ disregard to the law of nations, which are laid
‘ down as the reasons of this declaration, were
‘ then too flagrant to be denied, and too contemp-
‘ tuous to be born: Nor can any one reason be al-
‘ ledg’d for justifying our going to war now, that
‘ was not of equal force before the convention.
‘ After that was ratify’d, Sir, and after the address
‘ of the Parliament to his Majesty on that head,
‘ there was indeed some sort of pretext for not
‘ commencing hostilities, because you had laid your-
‘ selves under a kind of obligation to see if the
‘ *Spaniards* wou’d fulfil their part of the stipula-
‘ tions; but this was a reason that cou’d have no
‘ place before that conduct was enter’d into and
‘ approv’d. It is therefore evident that if the war
‘ be now necessary, it was necessary before the
‘ convention: Of this necessity the gentlemen
‘ known, however improperly, by the name of
‘ *Seceders*, were then fully convinced. They saw,
‘ instead of that ardour of resentment, and that
‘ zeal for the honour of *England*, which such in-
‘ dignities ought to have produced, nothing but
‘ meanness, and tameness, and submission, and
‘ their natural consequences, a low, temporary ex-
‘ pedient,

‘ pedient, a shameful convention, a convention
‘ which, had the *Spaniards* not madly broken it,
‘ must have ended in our ruin, must have thrown
‘ our own navigation into the hands of our ene-
‘ mies. To such a conduct as this they cou’d give
‘ no sanction; they saw that all opposition was in-
‘ effectual, and that their presence was only made
‘ use of, that what was already determined might
‘ be ratify’d with the plausible appearance of a fair
‘ debate. They therefore *seceded*, if that word
‘ must be used on this occasion, and refused to
‘ countenance measures which they could neither
‘ approve nor defeat.

‘ The state of affairs is now chang’d; the mea-
‘ sures of the ministry are now alter’d, and the
‘ same regard for the honour and welfare of their
‘ country, that determin’d these gentlemen to
‘ withdraw their countenance from such a conduct
‘ as they thought had a tendency to destroy them,
‘ the same has brought them hither once more, to
‘ give their advice and assistance in those measures,
‘ which they then pointed out, as the only means
‘ of asserting and retrieving them.

‘ Having said thus much, Sir, in vindication of
‘ that step, I shall not at present give myself the
‘ trouble of enquiring into the effects with which
‘ it was attended; or whether it had any influence
‘ in producing this declaration of war. Neither
‘ shall I take any notice of the unwillingness with
‘ which a certain right honourable person, I have
‘ now in my eye, is said to have enter’d into this
‘ war. I shall only take notice of the motion for
‘ an address now made.

‘ Here, Sir, I am very willing to agree with
‘ the honourable gentleman in what he observ’d,
‘ with regard to the wisdom and necessity of the
‘ declaration of war, and the insults and injuries
‘ we have received from that nation which is now
‘ the object of our resentment; I am very glad to
‘ hear

‘ hear these sentiments from that quarter. But,
‘ Sir, I have somewhat to add about the means of
‘ making it conducive to the honour and interest
‘ of this nation. Give me leave to observe, Sir,
‘ that there is one measure, which, if constantly
‘ and resolutely pursued by us, will make this war
‘ of most lasting advantage to the nation, and that
‘ is, Sir, to take and hold. Let us attack their
‘ settlements in the *West-Indies*, with such a force
‘ as cannot be defeated: And, Sir, let us put it
‘ out of the power of any ministry to give up the
‘ conquests we shall make; we shall then put the
‘ trade and navigation of this kingdom beyond all
‘ future violation.

‘ And here I beg leave to observe, that all the
‘ nation has just reason to regret the miscarriage of
‘ a bill which I had the honour to bring in two
‘ sessions ago, by which his Majesty’s adventuring
‘ subjects might have been encouraged to attempt
‘ conquests upon the enemy. If it had passed, Sir,
‘ I make no doubt but before this time we shou’d
‘ have seen the good effects of it; for nothing, Sir,
‘ next to our own weak and inconsistent conduct,
‘ has contributed more to the insolence of the *Spaniards*,
‘ than a notion which they entertain, that
‘ we neither can nor dare attack them in their most
‘ sensible parts. If that bill had pass’d, this nation
‘ wou’d soon have done itself ample justice upon
‘ the *Spaniards*, without putting the government
‘ to one shilling of expence. We have an instance,
‘ Sir, of the spirit and power, with which the pri-
‘ vate adventurers of this nation can act, in the
‘ reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; a reign, Sir, of distin-
‘ guish’d glory in the *British* annals; but distin-
‘ guish’d by nothing more than the success of our
‘ arms and counsels against that power which has
‘ now so long insulted us. It was, Sir, to private
‘ adventurers that all the success of Sir *Francis*
‘ *Drake* was owing; and till that spirit is reviv’d,

‘ till we take and hold, we never can expect to see
‘ any advantage arise to the nation from this war:
‘ For which reasons, Sir, I hope to see, before the
‘ end of this session, a bill brought in, with proper
‘ clauses, to encourage, not only his Majesty’s for-
‘ ces, but his Majesty’s subjects to make conquests
‘ in the *Spanish Indies*. In the last great war with
‘ *France*, Sir, this was thought a very proper con-
‘ duct; and when one bill for that effect was not
‘ found sufficient to answer every objection that
‘ might arise, another bill was passed a very little
‘ time after, more full and more explicit.

‘ Perhaps, Sir, I have insisted a little too long
‘ upon this subject, and what I have said would
‘ have come much more properly from my ho-
‘ nourable friend who sits near me, or some other
‘ gentleman in the administration; but I thought
‘ myself oblig’d, Sir, to say thus much in vindica-
‘ tion of my own conduct when I brought in that
‘ bill, and of the arguments I then made use of to
‘ enforce it. Another reason, Sir, why I have in-
‘ sisted so much upon it, is to do honour to his
‘ Majesty, who, in his speech, certainly points to
‘ this conduct, and to express my readiness to sup-
‘ port the ministry in that and all other steps that
‘ shall be taken in order to carry on this war with
‘ vigour and advantage to the nation. I dare say,
‘ Sir, that all my friends are of the same opinion
‘ with myself; I can venture to answer for them,
‘ that there will be no other contest on this occa-
‘ sion, but who shall be most forward in assisting
‘ his Majesty to act with the weight that becomes
‘ the dignity of his crown, and the success an-
‘ swerable to the justice of his cause.

‘ Having said thus much, Sir, I am naturally
‘ led to consider some expressions both in the
‘ speech and motion, which I must own I could
‘ not, at first, hear without concern, and to which
‘ longer consideration has not yet reconciled me.

‘ His

‘ His Majesty mentions heats and animosities. Sir,
‘ I don’t know who drew up this speech; but
‘ whoever he was, he should have spared that ex-
‘ pression: I wish he had drawn a veil over the
‘ heats and animosities that must be own’d once
‘ subsisted upon this head, for I am sure none now
‘ subsist. Was it the effect of these heats and
‘ animosities (to use the words of the speech) in-
‘ dustriously fomented throughout this nation, that
‘ *Spain*, for twenty years, treated us with all the
‘ insolence, barbarity, and injustice that cou’d have
‘ been practis’d upon a nation conquer’d and en-
‘ slav’d? Was it the effect of our heats and ani-
‘ mosities that our ministry concluded a treaty with
‘ that crown, which at once gave up all the trade
‘ and navigation of this kingdom to her mercy?
‘ Was it owing to our heats and animosities, Sir,
‘ that this treaty was ratified, approved of, and
‘ must have been now in force, had not the *Spa-*
‘ *niards* themselves broke it? No, Sir, if there
‘ were heats and animosities, they were occasion’d
‘ by the ministry’s not pursuing those measures
‘ they have now fallen upon. But since their con-
‘ duct is happily changed, all animosities are ex-
‘ tinct; nor will they ever disturb us again, till a
‘ conduct, as much to the discredit and dishonour
‘ of the nation as that which gave rise to them,
‘ shall make it necessary to revive them.

‘ Therefore, Sir, I say it again, that whoever
‘ drew up this speech, he should have spared this
‘ expression. For if we are not unanimous, Sir, it
‘ will be the fault of the ministry alone, because it
‘ is now in their power to remove every cause of
‘ dissension, and to gratify the just resentment of
‘ an injur’d people by a vigorous prosecution of
‘ the war.

‘ I will make no motion upon what I have said;
‘ only I must repeat it once more, that I heartily
‘ wish, for his Majesty’s honour and service, that
‘ no

‘ no mention had been made of heats and animosities; and I think we should more consult the reputation and dignity of this house, if in our address we should take no notice of that clause of the speech.’

The answer was by Sir *Robert Walpole*, to the following effect.

Sir Robert
Walpole's
speech.

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, After what pass'd last session, and after the repeated declarations of the honourable gentleman who spoke last, and his friends, I little expected that we shou'd have this session been again favour'd with their company. I am always pleas'd, Sir, when I see gentlemen in the way of their duty, and glad that these gentlemen have return'd to theirs; though, to say the truth, I was in no great concern lest the service either of his Majesty or the nation shou'd suffer by their absence. I believe the nation is generally sensible, that the many useful and popular acts which pass'd towards the end of last session were greatly forwarded and facilitated by the secession of these gentlemen, and if they are return'd only to oppose and perplex, I shall not at all be sorry if they secede again.

‘ The honourable gentleman who spoke last, said, That they took that step because he and his friends conceiv'd that measures were pursued which tended to ruin the honour and interest of this nation; and that they have return'd to their duty, because these measures are now at an end. Sir, I don't remember any one step which was taken in the whole of our transactions with *Spain* that has not been fully canvass'd in Parliament, and as fully approv'd. The Parliament can best judge what is fit or not fit to be done, and while I have the honour of bearing any share in the administration,

‘ administration, I shall still think myself safe, and
‘ my actions compleatly justified, if they are, after
‘ mature deliberation, approv’d by a *British* Parlia-
‘ ment. The stale argument of corruption never
‘ shall have any weight with me; it has been the
‘ common refuge of the disappointed and disaffect-
‘ ed ever since government had a being; and it is
‘ an accusation, that, like all other charges, though
‘ unsupported by proof, if advanc’d against the
‘ best and most disinterested administration, and
‘ push’d with a becoming violence, a pretended
‘ zeal for the publick good will never fail to meet
‘ with applause among the populace. I cannot,
‘ however, believe that the honourable gentleman
‘ and his friends have found any reason to boast
‘ of the effects, produced by their secession, upon
‘ the minds of the people; for it was a very new
‘ way of defending the interests of their constitu-
‘ ents, to desert them when they apprehended
‘ them to be endanger’d. I shou’d not have
‘ touch’d so much upon this subject, had I not
‘ been, in a manner, call’d upon to do it by what
‘ fell from the honourable gentleman who spoke
‘ last. I shall now proceed to take some notice of
‘ what he further advanc’d.

‘ The declaration of war against *Spain*, Sir, is
‘ neither more nor less than the consequence,
‘ which, as his Majesty again and again inform’d
‘ this house, wou’d arise from the *Spaniards* per-
‘ sisting in their refusal to do justice to his injur’d
‘ subjects; and what the honourable gentleman has
‘ said upon that head amounts to nothing more
‘ than, that after the *Spaniards* had absolutely re-
‘ fused to do that justice, his Majesty proceeded
‘ to those measures which he had then more than
‘ once promised to take. Sir, I am sorry that the
‘ honourable gentleman shou’d so far distrust the
‘ royal assurances, as rather to absent himself from
‘ his duty, as a member of this house, than put
‘ any

‘ any confidence in his Majesty’s promise. But
 ‘ give me leave to say, Sir, that, from the well-
 ‘ known character of his Majesty, this declaration
 ‘ of war is no more than what the honourable gen-
 ‘ tleman and his friends had not only reason but a
 ‘ right to expect, even at the time of their seces-
 ‘ sion, if the continuance of the injustice of *Spain*
 ‘ shou’d make it necessary to have recourse to arms.
 ‘ So that, upon the whole, I neither see how his
 ‘ Majesty’s not issuing this declaration of war,
 ‘ when they were pleased to require it, was a good
 ‘ reason for their running from their duty; nor
 ‘ how its being issued at last is any apology for
 ‘ their return.

‘ The honourable gentleman has dwelt long on
 ‘ a measure which he appears to be very fond of,
 ‘ and that is, attacking the enemy in *America*, and
 ‘ vesting the property of what shall be conquer’d
 ‘ there in his Majesty’s subjects. Sir, I don’t
 ‘ think this a very proper time to come to any ex-
 ‘ planation upon that head; if it is a step proper
 ‘ to be taken, the wisdom of his Majesty and his
 ‘ Parliament will certainly not omit it; and in that
 ‘ case I think the less it is talk’d of before it is put
 ‘ in execution, the better it will be for this nation,
 ‘ as the more likely to succeed.

‘ As to the honourable gentleman’s favourite
 ‘ bill, which he has mention’d, and which was, I
 ‘ think, with great justice thrown out two sessions
 ‘ ago, I can see no use it cou’d have been of, since,
 ‘ though it had passed then, it cou’d not have ta-
 ‘ ken place before the declaration of war. And if
 ‘ that bill should be thought proper, we can now
 ‘ pass it, and let it immediately take effect.

‘ The honourable gentleman made some remarks
 ‘ upon that part of his Majesty’s speech which
 ‘ mentions heats and animosities, and seem’d to
 ‘ think that they are now extinguish’d. Sir, I
 ‘ cou’d wish they were, but I think it is evident
 ‘ to

‘ to every common understanding, that they are
‘ not. But though all former heats and animosities
‘ were now extinguished, the caution and advice
‘ given by his Majesty are very proper upon this
‘ occasion, because but very lately they rose to a
‘ very great height, to such a height, Sir, as in
‘ some measure even to disown the authority of the
‘ Legislature; for what construction can I put up-
‘ on the actions of gentlemen who retire from the
‘ service of this house, because, as they pretend,
‘ the proceedings of the house are contrary to law
‘ and the constitution, though it is plain, that both
‘ the law and constitution of this nation have no
‘ other foundation than the determinations of Par-
‘ liament?

‘ Sir, I will not say all I can upon this head.
‘ The honourable gentleman demanded whether
‘ the heats and animosities of the kingdom made
‘ you bear with the insolences of *Spain* for twenty
‘ years? If *Spain* treated this nation with insolence,
‘ if she injur’d his Majesty’s subjects, her insolence
‘ was encourag’d, and her fears remov’d by our
‘ divisions. For while such heats and animosities
‘ against an administration subsist, no government
‘ cou’d be imagin’d so mad as to rush into a war,
‘ and expose themselves to foreign and domestick
‘ enemies at once. If these divisions appear to be
‘ laid asleep at present, ’tis only because the faction
‘ think they cannot, with the least shew of decen-
‘ cy, continue their clamours, since they have been
‘ gratify’d in their favourite measures. The ho-
‘ nourable gentleman blamed the convention. Sir,
‘ I still think as well of the convention as ever I
‘ did; and I believe the wisdom and moderation
‘ shewn by his Majesty, in accepting of the con-
‘ vention as a preliminary to a peace, have pro-
‘ duced this happy effect, that you have at present
‘ only *Spain* to contend with. It was this inclina-
‘ tion for coming to terms, if terms, in any degree
‘ equitable,

‘ equitable, cou’d have been obtain’d, which his
 ‘ Majesty had all along shewn, that has convinc’d
 ‘ all *Europe* that the insolence, injustice, and ob-
 ‘ stinacy of the court of *Spain* were the only causes
 ‘ of the war.

‘ Upon the whole, Sir, I think the very objec-
 ‘ tion which the honourable gentleman has made,
 ‘ is some part of a proof, that divisions still subsist;
 ‘ for it is no great sign of unanimity that such in-
 ‘ sinuations and objections are started on the first
 ‘ day of the session; especially as the war has been
 ‘ hitherto so successfully and so vigorously carried
 ‘ on, as not to leave the least ground for reflecting
 ‘ either upon his Majesty or the administration.
 ‘ Therefore, Sir, I am entirely for agreeing to the
 ‘ motion.’

Sir *John Barnard* spoke next to the following effect.

‘ Mr. Speaker,

Sir *John
 Barnard's
 speech.*

‘ Sir, As I attended my duty in this house all last
 ‘ session, and as I am resolv’d ever to do so while
 ‘ I have the honour to be in Parliament, I can
 ‘ with the greater freedom declare my sentiments
 ‘ with regard to what has pass’d between the two
 ‘ honourable gentlemen who spoke last.

‘ As to the step that was taken by the honour-
 ‘ able gentleman and his friends, in absenting
 ‘ themselves from the service of this house, I have
 ‘ nothing more to say, than that I am convinc’d
 ‘ the gentlemen themselves acted from good mo-
 ‘ tives, and thought it for the service of his Ma-
 ‘ jesty and the nation. This, Sir, I say, from my
 ‘ personal knowledge of these gentlemen, and of
 ‘ their zeal in the service of their country. But
 ‘ whatever were the motives, Sir, to their taking
 ‘ that step, I am persuaded that they now no lon-
 ‘ ger subsist; and that as the declaration of war has
 ‘ render’d

‘ render’d us all unanimous, so nothing is now
‘ necessary to preserve our unanimity, but a hearty
‘ and vigorous prosecution of it on the part of
‘ the ministry.

‘ The honourable gentleman who spoke last
‘ said, towards the end of his speech, That the
‘ war had been hitherto so successfully and vi-
‘ gorously carried on, as to leave no grounds for
‘ reflecting either upon his Majesty or the mi-
‘ nistry. Sir, I believe there is not a man in
‘ the nation who wou’d reflect upon his Majesty,
‘ in whatever manner it is conducted ; but I fear,
‘ that, as it is, great numbers are dissatisfied with
‘ the ministry. As I have the honour, Sir, to be
‘ a representative in this house for the most popu-
‘ lous city, and a city of the greatest trade in his
‘ Majesty’s dominions, or perhaps in the world,
‘ it is my duty to declare, that I don’t think the
‘ war has been carried on with that vigour and suc-
‘ cess that might have been expected : I shall take
‘ the liberty, Sir, to point out a few instances
‘ wherein it appears to the trading part of that
‘ city, that there has not been the best ma-
‘ nagement.

‘ To the trade of this nation all administrations
‘ ought to have the principal regard ; and every
‘ step, every measure they take ought to be with
‘ a view of protecting or improving it. But how
‘ does it appear, that the security and encourage-
‘ ment of trade has been, in the course of this
‘ war, attended to ? Instead of building small
‘ twenty-gun ships, the only ships that can most
‘ effectually curb the *Spanish* privateers, we have
‘ equipp’d scarce any other than great, pompous
‘ ships of seventy, eighty, or a hundred guns,
‘ which, though, for ought I know, they may
‘ be very serviceable in an engagement, I appre-
‘ hend, are almost useless for the purpose I have
‘ mention’d. It is, Sir, from their privateers
‘ only

‘ only that we have any thing to dread ; the *Spanish*
‘ fleet is not at present, nor can be for some
‘ time, in any condition to face ours ; therefore
‘ the principal view, Sir, of those who have
‘ hitherto had the direction of this war, ought to
‘ have been the protection of our merchant ships
‘ from privateers, by a sufficient number of
‘ twenty-gun ships. If the government, Sir, had
‘ wanted such ships, they might have bought as
‘ many as they wanted ready built ; and, in my
‘ opinion, Sir, the publick money would have
‘ been laid out to much greater advantage than we
‘ have seen it.

‘ There is another point, Sir, in which I think
‘ there has been a considerable defect in our ma-
‘ nagement of the present war ; and that is, with
‘ regard to the small number of ships sent to the
‘ *West-Indies*. It is there, Sir, as my honourable
‘ friend upon the floor well observ’d, that we can
‘ only hope to distress the enemy, and it was
‘ there alone that the whole, or the greatest part
‘ of our force, ought to have been employed.
‘ An admiral was indeed sent out, and it is gene-
‘ rally thought he is gone to the *West-Indies*, but
‘ we have not yet heard that the fleet he has with
‘ him has been able to do any thing ; and indeed
‘ we have no great reason to expect that he will
‘ do much, as he carried out no land forces with
‘ him, nor any stores that are commonly used in
‘ attacking or demolishing forts, which is the
‘ business that must be first done in those parts.

‘ Another thing which the merchants have
‘ very much at heart, is the stationing his Maje-
‘ sty’s ships in proper places for protecting our
‘ own trade, and annoying that of our enemy.
‘ They observe that our trade has suffered very
‘ much for want of ships stationed at proper
‘ places ; and that except by the capture of two
‘ *Caracca*

‘ *Caracca* ships, the *Spaniards* have suffered very
‘ little.

‘ From these considerations I am afraid, Sir,
‘ it will appear, that upon balancing the accounts
‘ betwixt us and *Spain* since this war has com-
‘ menced, the disadvantage is on our side. There
‘ was, indeed, one opportunity, which, if we
‘ had been vigilant and active in the use of it,
‘ might have gone far towards repairing our
‘ losses; and that was the intercepting the *As-*
‘ *sogue* ships: But that, like many other mea-
‘ sures, has, it seems, proved unsuccessful. Per-
‘ haps, Sir, before we boast too much of the
‘ vigour and success with which the war has been
‘ carried on, it may be expedient to enquire by
‘ what means these ships escap’d, especially as it
‘ was known that they were on their voyage,
‘ and as the course which they actually held, was
‘ that in which our admirals and captains might
‘ most reasonably have expected to have met
‘ them.

‘ As to what the honourable gentleman said,
‘ with regard to our divisions, really, Sir, I am
‘ of opinion, that whatever divisions are among
‘ us, must be charged upon the ministry, who,
‘ whether they have raised them or not, may
‘ now easily extinguish them by such a vigorous
‘ prosecution of this war, as may convince the
‘ nation that they are in earnest. At least I can
‘ venture to answer for the great body of which
‘ I have the honour to be one of the representa-
‘ tives, that they will think no expences they
‘ shall contribute, too large, they will think no
‘ testimonies of their duty and zeal for the ad-
‘ ministration too strong, if this war is prose-
‘ cuted with as much vigour as it has been un-
‘ dertaken with justice.’

He was answered by Admiral *Wager*, to the following effect:

Admiral
Wager's
speech.

‘ Sir, I did not think that I should have spoken
‘ upon this occasion, but as some things have
‘ fallen from the honourable gentleman who spoke
‘ last, which, it is my duty to answer, I shall
‘ give the house what satisfaction I can with
‘ regard to the management of the present war.

‘ As to our being greater sufferers by captures
‘ than the *Spaniards* have been, that, Sir, I be-
‘ lieve is very true, and there is sufficient, per-
‘ haps invincible reason for it, which is, that we
‘ have a great deal more to lose than they. The
‘ sea is cover’d with our ships, and the extent of
‘ our trade gives the *Spaniards* the advantages of
‘ very frequent captures. They have but very
‘ little foreign commerce in *Europe*, and the little
‘ they have is carried on in other bottoms than
‘ those belonging to themselves; so that the flag
‘ of other nations protects their property.

‘ As to their commerce in *America*, but a few
‘ ships are employ’d in it, and the great distance
‘ of the voyage, with the wideness of the navi-
‘ gation, renders the intercepting them very un-
‘ certain. The honourable gentleman mentioned
‘ the course of the *Assogue* ships. If I could con-
‘ ceive it necessary, I could easily convince every
‘ gentleman here, that it was not owing to any
‘ defect either of zeal or prudence in the admi-
‘ nistration, nor to any negligence of the admi-
‘ rals who lay on those coasts, that they were
‘ not taken, but merely to an accident of their
‘ having met with an advice-boat sent from their
‘ court, which it was fifty chances to one they
‘ would not have met with, and which made
‘ them alter their course. The honourable gen-
‘ tleman insinuated that we had not a sufficient

‘ number of ships employ’d to protect our own,
‘ and to annoy the enemy’s trade in the *West-*
‘ *Indies*. I don’t know, Sir, what gentlemen
‘ mean by a sufficient number, but to the best of
‘ my remembrance, we have at present four and
‘ thirty ships, great and small, employ’d in that
‘ service. I believe, Sir, if gentlemen will be
‘ pleased to reflect, they will find that we have
‘ seldom or never had so great a number in those
‘ seas, and that in the present state of our navy,
‘ we cannot spare a greater number without neg-
‘ lecting the service in other places.

‘ The other objection raised by the honourable
‘ gentleman to the management of the war, was
‘ founded on a supposed error of the ministry in
‘ not employing a sufficient number of twenty-
‘ gun ships. Sir, I own that twenty-gun ships
‘ are of very great service in the present war.
‘ But at the same time gentlemen will please to
‘ remember, that the twenty-gun ships in the ser-
‘ vice of the government, were not sufficient to
‘ supply all the services which the particular cir-
‘ cumstances of this war required. Besides that,
‘ a good number of them had been found unfit
‘ for service, and must therefore be rebuilt. The
‘ honourable gentleman said, that the government
‘ might have bought ships from private persons
‘ for that purpose. This very method is now
‘ pursued, some have been already purchased,
‘ and several contracts are now depending for
‘ purchasing more; but still there is required some
‘ time to fit them out, and to render them ser-
‘ viceable as ships of force.

‘ Upon the whole, Sir, there is no manner of
‘ doubt that some of the merchants, and trading
‘ part of the nation, have been sufferers since the
‘ commencement of this war, and possibly they
‘ may suffer still more if it continues: But this,
‘ Sir, was often foretold, in this house, before the

‘ war was declared. It is what the merchants
 ‘ ought to have foreseen, and pre-supposed; and
 ‘ if they have begun so soon to complain, I think
 ‘ there is very little reason to hope that all our
 ‘ heats and animosities are extinguished.’

The question was hereupon put, and agreed to without any division.

The address drawn up and presented, in pursuance of this resolution, was as follows:

Commons
 address, with
 his Majesty's
 answer.

‘ *Most gracious Sovereign,*

‘ **W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal
 ‘ subjects, the Commons of *Great Bri-*
 ‘ *tain* in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return
 ‘ your Majesty our unfeigned thanks, for your
 ‘ most gracious speech from the throne, and to
 ‘ express our entire satisfaction in your Majesty's
 ‘ declaration of war against the crown of *Spain*;
 ‘ a war, which the repeated violences and depre-
 ‘ dations committed by the *Spanish* nation upon
 ‘ the trade and commerce of these kingdoms, the
 ‘ notorious violation of their most solemn engage-
 ‘ ments, their obstinate refusal of making repara-
 ‘ tion for past injuries, and of giving security
 ‘ against the like for the future, have rendered
 ‘ just and unavoidable.

‘ It is with the highest sense of duty and gra-
 ‘ titude, we acknowledge your Majesty's wisdom
 ‘ and paternal care of your people, in making use
 ‘ of the power granted to your Majesty by Parlia-
 ‘ ment, for the security and defence of these
 ‘ kingdoms, for the protection of our trade, and
 ‘ for the distressing and annoying our enemies in
 ‘ the most sensible and effectual manner; and we
 ‘ beg leave to assure your Majesty, that nothing
 ‘ shall divert or deter us from sustaining, with sa-
 ‘ tisfaction and chearfulness, any extraordinary
 ‘ expences

‘ expences and inconveniencies, that must inevita-
 ‘ bly attend the various and extensive services,
 ‘ which your Majesty shall find necessary to under-
 ‘ take, in vindicating the honour of your crown,
 ‘ in asserting the rights of your people, and in
 ‘ procuring justice to an injured and provoked na-
 ‘ tion.

‘ And we beseech your Majesty, to accept the
 ‘ strongest and most affectionate assurances, that,
 ‘ in defence of your Majesty’s kingdoms, and in
 ‘ support of the common cause of our country,
 ‘ we will raise such effectual supplies, and with
 ‘ such chearfulness and dispatch, as will forward
 ‘ and give spirit to your Majesty’s preparations,
 ‘ and enable your Majesty to carry on the war
 ‘ with vigour.

‘ And your dutiful Commons, being truly sen-
 ‘ sible of the fatal consequences of intestine heats
 ‘ and animosities, will, with a zeal becoming the
 ‘ representatives of the people in Parliament, en-
 ‘ deavour to compose those unhappy divisions,
 ‘ which have too long prevailed among your Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s subjects; and we do assure your Majesty,
 ‘ that nothing shall be wanting on our part, to
 ‘ restore to the nation that union and harmony
 ‘ which may effectually defeat and disappoint all
 ‘ the vain projects, hopes, and expectations of
 ‘ your Majesty’s open and secret enemies, both at
 ‘ home and abroad.’

His Majesty’s most gracious answer.

Gentlemen,

I Return you my thanks for this dutiful and affec-
 tionate address. The unanimous support of my
 faithful Commons, in this just and national cause, will
 add the greatest weight to my warlike preparation
 and, by the blessing of God, be the surest means of
 procuring success to my arms, and justice to my in-
 jur’d people.

Mr. Pulteney's speech and motion for a bill to secure trade and encourage seamen.

The next day *William Pulteney*, Esq; stood up, and took notice, ‘ That as the war was then declared against *Spain*, and all negotiations with that court, he hoped, at an end, it was high time to think of bringing in and passing such a bill for encouraging seamen, as he had two years before presented to that house. I had not, ’tis true, Sir, says he, the good fortune, at that time, to obtain the concurrence of this house for passing that bill into a law; but, as the reason that seemed then to be of greatest weight against the passing of that bill, is now at an end, I hope I shall now have better luck. We were then told, that the passing of such a bill might interrupt the course of our negotiations at the court of *Spain*; and this seemed to be the chief reason for putting a negative upon it. I was at that time, indeed, of opinion, that the passing of such a bill would rather have forwarded our negotiations, because it would have shewn the court of *Spain* what they were to expect, in case they should any longer refuse to do us justice. But whether I was then in the right or no: Whether this reason was then a good or a bad one, against passing such a bill, I am sure it is such a one as will not be urged against it at this time. This encourages me again to attempt what I then thought was reasonable, and as the reasons for it were then fully explained, and are now much stronger than they were at that time, I think it unnecessary to repeat or enforce them, unless I find, which I do not expect, an opposition made to my motion. For this reason, I shall at present trouble you no farther than to move, That the 6th and 8th sections of an act made in the 6th year of the reign of *Queen Anne*, intituled, *An act for the better securing the trade of this kingdom by cruizers and convoys*; and also the 2d section of an act made in

‘ the

‘ the same year, intituled, *An act for the encouragement of the trade to America*, may be read;’ and the same being accordingly read, he then moved, ‘ That leave might be given to bring in a bill for the more effectual securing and encouraging the trade of his Majesty’s British subjects in America, and for the encouragement of seamen to enter into his Majesty’s service.’

Upon this, *Henry Pelham*, Esq; stood up, and spoke to the following effect, viz.

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, the encouragement of our seamen is, in my opinion, so necessary for preserving the tranquillity, and vindicating the honour of this nation, that I can with the greatest sincerity declare, that no man has a greater regard for that useful part of his Majesty’s subjects than I have. I shall always be for giving them all the encouragement that is in our power to bestow, and therefore shall always be ready to agree to any reasonable proposition that can be made for that purpose. What the honourable gentleman intends by the bill he proposes to bring in, I cannot pretend to be thoroughly acquainted with; but, if it is to be such a one as was brought in by him and some other gentlemen about two years ago, I must think his motion a little too precipitate.

Mr. Pelham's speech.

‘ I am sure, Sir, I have no occasion to inform any gentleman of this house, that by our constitution, the crown has the sole and absolute property in every ship and her cargoe that is taken from an enemy, by any of his Majesty’s ships of war; and therefore, when any share of a prize is given or promised to the captors, it ought to be considered as a gracious condescension in the crown, for the encouragement of those officers and seamen that are employed in the publick service.

‘ service. This, Sir, is the true state of the case,
‘ with regard to all prizes taken by any of his
‘ Majesty’s ships of war; and as all acts of grace
‘ and favour ought to come originally from the
‘ throne, I think, if any law be necessary for re-
‘ gulating the distribution of those prizes that may,
‘ in the present war, be taken from the enemy, or
‘ for giving the whole or any share of them to the
‘ captors, we ought to wait till we have a message
‘ from the crown for that purpose. If such a bill,
‘ as the honourable gentleman, I believe, intends,
‘ be brought into this house, before we have any
‘ message from the crown for that end, it will, in
‘ my opinion, shew a sort of disrespect to his Ma-
‘ jesty, which, I am convinced, is very far from
‘ being the intention of the honourable gentleman
‘ who has made you this motion. It will be, in
‘ some measure, a forestalling the favours of the
‘ crown, and transferring from his Majesty to some
‘ of the members of this house, that popularity
‘ which is to be gained by a measure that has the
‘ appearance of so much generosity and bounty.

‘ Whether it may be proper to give the whole
‘ of every prize, that shall be taken by any of his
‘ Majesty’s ships of war, to the officers and seamen
‘ employed in taking her, is what I shall not at
‘ present determine; but if it is, ’tis what his Ma-
‘ jesty may do without the authority of an act of
‘ Parliament, and if any farther powers are want-
‘ ed for encouraging our seamen to annoy the ene-
‘ my, I am convinced, his Majesty will apply to
‘ us for that purpose in a very short time. If we
‘ had sat for any number of days, and no such
‘ message had been sent to us, any gentleman who
‘ has the honour to be a member of this house,
‘ might have taken the liberty to stand up in his
‘ place, and propose what he thought was necessa-
‘ ry for encouraging our seamen, or any other part
‘ of his Majesty’s subjects, to attack and plunder
‘ the

‘ the enemy. In such a case, if we should think
‘ the proposition reasonable, and necessary for the
‘ publick service, it would be incumbent upon us,
‘ as representatives of the people, to comply with
‘ it; and the performing of our duty as members
‘ of this house, can never be inconsistent with the
‘ respect that is due to our Sovereign; but, how-
‘ ever reasonable the proposition now made to us
‘ may be, however necessary it may be for the
‘ publick service, I am sure, it is neither necessary,
‘ nor incumbent upon us, as representatives of the
‘ people, to enter into the consideration of it, the
‘ very second day of the session; and as it is a pro-
‘ position that, in its own nature, ought first to be
‘ brought before us, by means of a message from
‘ the crown, I think we ought to wait, at least for
‘ a few days, in order to give his Majesty time to
‘ consider and communicate to us, by message or
‘ otherwise, what he thinks may be necessary for
‘ encouraging not only our seamen, but every in-
‘ dividual person in his Majesty’s dominions, to
‘ concur and assist in vigorously prosecuting the
‘ war now declared against *Spain*.

‘ This, I think, Sir, is the least we can do upon
‘ this occasion; and therefore, I must think the
‘ motion now made to us a little precipitate. I
‘ must beg leave to say, that I think it would be,
‘ in some measure, taking advantage of the crown,
‘ to order such a bill to be brought in, the very
‘ second day of the session, and even before we
‘ have paid our duty to his Majesty in an address,
‘ by way of answer to his most gracious speech
‘ from the throne. Therefore, I hope, the ho-
‘ nourable gentleman will agree to have his motion
‘ postponed for a few days; because the considera-
‘ tion of it may, in that time, be recommended to
‘ us by his Majesty, or if it should not, we may
‘ resume the consideration of it, without any
‘ breach of that duty which we owe to our Sove-
‘ reign.

‘ reign. I know that, during the late war against
‘ *France*, a bill was brought in and passed into a
‘ law, for giving all prizes taken from the enemy
‘ to the captors. As I have not lately look’d upon
‘ that part of our journals, I cannot positively say,
‘ what it was that gave rise to that bill; but, I
‘ am apt to believe, that it proceeded from some
‘ message, or some intimation from the crown,
‘ that the passing of such a law was become neces-
‘ sary for the publick service; and, as it cannot be
‘ more necessary in the present war, than it was in
‘ that, I can see no reason for our being in such a
‘ hurry. The publick service cannot suffer much
‘ by a few days delay, and by such a delay, we
‘ shall avoid doing that, which may be look’d on
‘ by many, as an evident sign of disrespect to our
‘ Sovereign.

‘ At present, Sir, I do not think it at all neces-
‘ sary to enter into the merits of the question;
‘ but, as I have the honour to serve the crown,
‘ and consequently must know several facts, which
‘ some gentlemen in this house may not be ac-
‘ quainted with, as I am at liberty, I think myself
‘ obliged, upon this occasion, to inform the house,
‘ that with regard to those prizes which provi-
‘ dence has already put into our hands, different
‘ applications have already been made to his Ma-
‘ jesty: One from the captors, and another from
‘ the suffering merchants. I hope it will be allow-
‘ ed, that both ought to be regarded. The for-
‘ mer think they have, from custom, a title to a
‘ very large share of the prizes, which have, by
‘ them, been taken from the enemy: The latter
‘ have suffered greatly by the enemy, and as repa-
‘ ration is one of the ends proposed by our going
‘ to war, they think they have a title to have
‘ some part of their losses made good, by appro-
‘ priating to that use, some share of those prizes
‘ that shall be taken from the enemy, by his Ma-
‘ jesty’s

‘ jeſty’s ſhips of war. Both theſe petitions are
‘ founded on juſtice, and, for this reaſon, his Ma-
‘ jeſty has already answered, That when a value is
‘ put upon the prizes, and the ſhips and cargoes
‘ diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage, both ſhall be
‘ conſidered. With regard therefore to the prizes
‘ that have already been taken, we neither can, con-
‘ ſiſtently with what his Maſteſty has already pro-
‘ miſed, nor ought we to give the whole to the
‘ captors; and, with regard to thoſe that may
‘ hereafter be taken, I am in great doubt, whether
‘ we ought to do ſo by an eſtabliſhed law: His
‘ Maſteſty will certainly do ſo, when he thinks
‘ they deſerve it, and as often as the treaties now
‘ ſubſiſting between us and our allies, and the juſ-
‘ tice that is due to our injured merchants, will
‘ admit of it; therefore, I believe, the beſt and
‘ the wiſeſt thing we can do, is to leave the law
‘ as it ſtands at preſent. I am ſure, his Maſteſty
‘ will never deſire to make an advantage to him-
‘ ſelf, by any prize that ſhall be taken. The cap-
‘ tors will always be ſufficiently rewarded, and the
‘ reſidue, ſo far as is conſiſtent with the regard we
‘ ought to have for our allies, will be applied ei-
‘ ther to the publick ſervice, or to make good the
‘ loſſes of our merchants. Thus, whiſt a diſcre-
‘ tionary power remains in the crown, our ſeamen
‘ will have a proper encouragement, without do-
‘ ing injuſtice to any other part of his Maſteſty’s
‘ ſubjects, and without giving a juſt offence to any
‘ of our allies. Whereas, if by an eſtabliſhed and
‘ unalterable law, we give the whole to the cap-
‘ tors, they may often have more than ought,
‘ either in juſtice or prudence, to be given them;
‘ injuſtice will, in my opinion, be done to our
‘ ſuffering merchants, and we may give ſome of
‘ thoſe who are now our allies, or at leaſt our pre-
‘ tended friends, a good pretence for joining with
‘ *Spain* againſt us.

‘ But

‘ But as these are objections, Sir, that will be
 ‘ best understood, when the bill comes regularly
 ‘ before us, I shall insist no farther upon them at
 ‘ present. The ends proposed by the honourable
 ‘ gentleman’s motion, are such as I highly approve
 ‘ of, and if the bill be calculated so as to answer
 ‘ those ends, I shall be ready to agree, not only to
 ‘ its being brought in, but to its being passed into
 ‘ a law, as soon as is consistent with the respect
 ‘ we owe to the crown, and with the methods and
 ‘ forms of proceeding in this house; but, as such
 ‘ bills ought to owe their rise to some sort of ap-
 ‘ plication from the crown, and as it is a bill of
 ‘ great consequence, I do not think it would be
 ‘ altogether consistent, either with the regard we
 ‘ ought to have for his Majesty, or with the usual
 ‘ methods of proceeding in this house, to order
 ‘ such a bill to be brought in, the very second day
 ‘ of the session. This, Sir, is my opinion, and I
 ‘ am convinced, there are many gentlemen in this
 ‘ house of the same opinion; therefore, I hope the
 ‘ honourable gentleman will not, by insisting upon
 ‘ the question, lay us under a necessity of giving a
 ‘ negative to a motion which we should otherwise
 ‘ most heartily agree to, and which, if it be post-
 ‘ poned but for a few days, will, I believe, meet
 ‘ with an universal approbation.’

Samuel Sandys, Esq; stood up next, and spoke in
 substance thus:

*Mr. Sandys's
 speech.*

‘ Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ Sir, When I heard the motion which my ho-
 ‘ nourable friend has been pleased to make, I little
 ‘ expected it would have been opposed by any
 ‘ gentleman in this house. To secure and encou-
 ‘ rage effectually the trade of his Majesty’s subjects
 ‘ in *America*, and to encourage seamen to enter in-
 ‘ to his Majesty’s service, are topicks of such great
 ‘ consequence

‘ consequence to this nation, and so necessary upon
‘ the present occasion, that I imagined every gen-
‘ tleman would have been curious to see what ex-
‘ pedients had been thought of for these purposes;
‘ and as this cannot be seen till the bill be once
‘ brought in, I could not suppose, that any gentle-
‘ man would have opposed our giving leave to
‘ bring in such a bill. Surely, it must be allowed,
‘ that the trade of his Majesty’s subjects in *Ameri-*
‘ *ca*, is of the utmost consequence to this king-
‘ dom; and I am sure, it has neither been secure,
‘ nor has it been encouraged for almost these twen-
‘ ty years by-past: It must certainly be allowed,
‘ that it is at all times, but especially in time of
‘ war, of great consequence to the nation to have
‘ our seamen ready and willing to enter into his
‘ Majesty’s service; and I am sure, that for several
‘ years past, they have been so far from being rea-
‘ dy and willing, that many of them have most
‘ industriously, and often even perilously avoided
‘ being forced into his Majesty’s service. These,
‘ Sir, are our circumstances at present, and in these
‘ circumstances, which are known to the whole
‘ nation, was it not most reasonable to suppose,
‘ that every gentleman would be fond of seeing
‘ what expedients had been thought of for relie-
‘ ving us out of these unlucky circumstances? And
‘ as these expedients cannot be seen, till the bill
‘ now proposed be actually brought in; could any
‘ one expect, that an opposition would be made to
‘ the bringing in of such a bill?

‘ Gentlemen may make declarations of the re-
‘ gard they have for our seamen, and of their rea-
‘ diness to concur in any proper measures for their
‘ encouragement. I am persuaded the honourable
‘ gentleman who spoke last, was sincere in the de-
‘ clarations he made, I am persuaded every gentle-
‘ man in this house is sincere in what he declares.
‘ But it is not from our declarations, but from our
‘ actions,

‘ actions, that those without doors judge of our
‘ intentions; and unless they feel the effects of
‘ our declarations, they will be apt to judge amiss
‘ of our sincerity. I have, in this house, heard
‘ many sanguine declarations in favour of our sea-
‘ men; and yet I do not know by what mis-
‘ chance, our conduct has of late years very little
‘ corresponded with our declarations. That use-
‘ ful body of men, our sailors, have of late years
‘ been very little regarded, whilst an useless and
‘ dangerous body of men, I mean our mercenary
‘ troops, have met with all possible favour and
‘ encouragement. The former have been, of
‘ late years, so often pressed into his Majesty’s
‘ service, and dismissed again, without suffering
‘ them to make the expected advantages by the
‘ service, that I do not at all wonder at seeing
‘ them now absconding, and even venturing their
‘ lives, to avoid being forced into the service.
‘ As the pay in his Majesty’s navy, is not near
‘ equal to that in the merchants service, nothing
‘ can tempt them to enter on board the navy,
‘ but the hopes they have of making an extraor-
‘ dinary advantage by the prizes they may take:
‘ But these hopes, they have been of late so often
‘ disappointed of, that they began to despair of
‘ ever meeting again with any such opportunity;
‘ and the disappointment the bill now proposed
‘ met with, two years ago, added not a little to
‘ that despair. Even when his Majesty’s orders
‘ for reprizal were issued and published, they
‘ doubted if they would be allowed to execute
‘ them as they ought, and they doubted if they
‘ would be allowed any share of the prizes they
‘ might take.

‘ It has been chiefly owing to these doubts,
‘ Sir, that we have found, and still find such a
‘ difficulty to man our fleet; and therefore, I
‘ wish the bill that was proposed two years ago,
‘ had

‘ had passed into a law. It could have been at-
‘ tended with no inconvenience, and would have
‘ been of great advantage, at the commencement
‘ of a war. We have already severely felt the
‘ disadvantage of not passing it at the time it was
‘ proposed, and therefore, in duty to our coun-
‘ try, as well as our King, we ought to take the
‘ first opportunity for rectifying that mistake. The
‘ best method we can take for shewing our respect
‘ to his Majesty, is to do every thing we can for
‘ his service, and to do it as soon as we find that
‘ it is become necessary. To delay doing what
‘ we think necessary for his Majesty’s service, till
‘ it be applied for, or till he be advised to apply
‘ for it, by his ministers, may be a testimony of
‘ our respect for them, but it is a breach of that
‘ duty we owe to him.

‘ In all cases, we ought to distinguish carefully
‘ between the respect that is due to the crown,
‘ and the regard that may be claimed by the mi-
‘ nisters of the crown. To the crown we owe a
‘ great and a sincere regard, but to ministers,
‘ none but what they justly acquire by their con-
‘ duct. Nay, a regard for the latter, may often
‘ be inconsistent with that regard which is due to
‘ the former. I shall grant, that of late years,
‘ Parliaments have shewn a much greater respect
‘ to the ministers of the crown, than was usual
‘ in former ages; and I am under some appre-
‘ hensions, that by continuing to shew the same
‘ respect for a few years longer, we shall at last
‘ lose all that respect which the people of this
‘ kingdom ought to have for their Parliaments.
‘ If this should ever happen to be our case, as
‘ God forbid it should, our happy constitution
‘ would be at an end: Our people could not then
‘ be governed by Parliaments, or by any sort of
‘ civil government: They must be ruled by a
‘ standing

‘ standing army, and a military sort of govern-
‘ ment.

‘ I shall admit, Sir, that some acts of grace
‘ and favour, such as indemnities and the like,
‘ are usually brought into Parliament by a message
‘ from the crown; but it is a new sort of doctrine
‘ to pretend, that nothing of a popular nature
‘ ought to be brought into Parliament, without a
‘ previous message or intimation from the crown.
‘ At this rate, no law for the publick service, or
‘ for removing a publick grievance, could be pro-
‘ posed in Parliament, without a previous message
‘ from the crown; for every such law must, in
‘ its own nature, be attended with popularity,
‘ and to introduce it without such a message,
‘ might in every case be called forestalling the
‘ favours of the crown, with as much justice as
‘ in the case now before us. Such a doctrine
‘ would, indeed, make Parliaments very respect-
‘ ful to his Majesty’s ministers, but it would make
‘ them very useless to his Majesty’s subjects, and
‘ of as little use to his Majesty himself; therefore,
‘ I hope, it will never gain a prevalence in this
‘ house. As soon as we are assembled here, we
‘ are in duty bound to consider what laws are ne-
‘ cessary for the publick service, and we are in
‘ duty bound to bring them in, and to pass them
‘ as soon as we can. If they are such as are
‘ popular, our Sovereign will always have a great
‘ share in that popularity, by readily giving them
‘ the Royal Assent: Even his ministers may have
‘ a share in the popularity, by readily giving their
‘ concurrence in passing them through the two
‘ houses of Parliament. But if the King should,
‘ by the advice of wicked ministers, refuse his
‘ assent, or if the ministers should oppose them in
‘ Parliament, and thereby expose themselves to
‘ the hatred of the people, they meet with no-
‘ thing but what they deserve, and whatever may
‘ be

‘ be the consequences, they have themselves only
‘ to blame.

‘ For this reason, Sir, if there is any popula-
‘ rity to be gained by what is now proposed;
‘ I hope, those who are concerned in the admi-
‘ nistration, will take care to have a share of it,
‘ by giving us their assistance, not only in bring-
‘ ing in the bill, but in getting it passed into a
‘ law. I am sure no gentleman will say, but that
‘ some such bill as my honourable friend intends
‘ by his motion, is now become necessary for the
‘ publick service; and therefore, as I have, I
‘ think, clearly shewn, we can shew our respect
‘ to his Majesty, no way better, than by bringing
‘ it in and passing it with all imaginable dispatch.
‘ I shall grant, that his Majesty may, without
‘ the authority of an act of Parliament, give the
‘ whole of every prize that shall be taken, to the
‘ captors; and I verily believe, his Majesty is, of
‘ himself, extremely willing to do so. Where
‘ then is the harm, or where is the disrespect, in
‘ doing that by a law, which his Majesty is will-
‘ ing to do of his own accord? It may, ’tis true,
‘ be promised by proclamation: I think it ought
‘ to have been promised by proclamation as soon
‘ as the reprizals were published; but to do so by
‘ an act of Parliament, is a more solemn way of
‘ doing it, and will add to the confidence and
‘ consequently the encouragement of our sea-
‘ men.

‘ Besides this, Sir, it will prevent that grie-
‘ vance, which gave occasion to a bill of the
‘ same nature in the late Queen’s time. We all
‘ know, that before the act of the 6th of Queen
‘ *Anne, for the encouragement of the trade to*
‘ America, we had a prize-office established,
‘ which had the disposal and distribution of all
‘ the prizes that were taken by his Majesty’s ships
‘ of war; and we likewise know, that a great

deal of the money produced by the sale of any prize, stuck to the fingers of the officers and clerks employed in that office. This was a grievance then loudly complained of, and at last occasioned the passing of that law. Now, as it is both better and easier to prevent than remedy a grievance, and as some such office as this must be now revived, unless such a law be passed as is by this motion intended, I hope the bill now proposed will be not only brought in, but passed into a law, in order to prevent that, which has already been found to be an intolerable grievance upon all officers and seamen employed in his Majesty's service.

From our journals, Sir, it appears, that neither the law, by which this prize-office was abolished, nor any of the regulations now proposed to be revived, were owing to any previous message or intimation from the crown. Nay, I doubt much, if the law for demolishing the prize-office was so much as advised, or sincerely approved of, by those who were at that time the chief ministers of the crown. The ministers in that age were, I believe, something like those we have in this; and I have always found ministers extremely unwilling to demolish any office where the nomination of the officers belonged to them. On the contrary, they have always been inventing new offices of this sort; and if at any time they found themselves under the necessity of consenting to the demolition of such an office, they have generally taken the first opportunity they could safely lay hold on, for reviving it. Therefore, when a law becomes necessary for demolishing any such office, or for preventing the establishment or revival of such a one, I must think it would be very idle in us, to expect a message from the crown for that purpose: If we are at all times to wait for
I such

‘ such a message, I believe no such law will ever
‘ be passed.

‘ Having thus, I hope, fully answered the
‘ only argument that has been made use of for
‘ postponing this motion, I shall next beg leave
‘ to say something, by way of answer to those
‘ objections that have been made against giving
‘ the whole of the prizes that shall be taken, to
‘ the captors; and here, I find the sufferings of
‘ our merchants are to be made a handle against
‘ our giving the same encouragement to our sea-
‘ men, that was given in the last war. Sir, I am
‘ glad to find, that we now begin to shew some
‘ regard to our suffering merchants. I have al-
‘ ways been for shewing them the utmost regard,
‘ and if some other gentlemen had been of the
‘ same sentiments with me, I am sure, they would
‘ not have suffered so much. No man can more
‘ sensibly feel the losses and misfortunes our mer-
‘ chants have met with, than I do, and for this
‘ very reason, I am for giving the whole of every
‘ prize that shall be taken, to the captors, be-
‘ cause, I think, it will be one of the best me-
‘ thods we can take, for procuring full reparation
‘ to our injured merchants.

‘ It is not from the prizes that may be taken
‘ during the war, that our merchants can expect
‘ full reparation. If we resolve to give them a
‘ large share of every prize, I am afraid very few
‘ will be taken; and, if we give them but a
‘ small share, the whole amount would not near
‘ answer the great damages which they have suf-
‘ fered, during the long course of time, they
‘ have been left exposed to the depredations and
‘ insults of *Spanish Guarda Costa's*; therefore they
‘ ought, I am sure every considering man among
‘ them will despise any reparation they can expect,
‘ by having a share of such prizes as may be
‘ taken by his Majesty's ships of war. It is from

‘ a vigorous prosecution and happy issue of the
‘ war, and from thence alone, that they can ex-
‘ pect a full reparation; and, as nothing can con-
‘ tribute more towards a vigorous prosecution and
‘ happy issue of a naval war, than that of giving
‘ the same encouragement to our seamen, which
‘ they had in the last war, therefore I am convin-
‘ ced, that most of our suffering merchants will
‘ frankly resign the insignificant and partial repara-
‘ tion they can expect, by having a share in such
‘ prizes as may be taken, in order to have not only
‘ a full reparation for their past sufferings, but an
‘ absolute security against any such for the future,
‘ by a happy and glorious issue of the war we are
‘ now engaged in.

‘ I am convinced, Sir, that the honourable gen-
‘ tleman who spoke last, has no indirect or bad
‘ design, in pleading for our suffering merchants
‘ having a share in such prizes as may be taken
‘ during the war. I am convinced, it proceeds
‘ entirely from the compassion he has for their
‘ sufferings; but, I must beg leave to say, that I
‘ think it a sort of compassion, which can do no
‘ service either to them or their country; because
‘ it creates a sort of opposition between them and
‘ our seamen, which is an opposition that, I be-
‘ lieve, very few of them will desire to propagate.
‘ It is something extraordinary, that we should
‘ now testify such a compassion for our suffering
‘ merchants, when some few of them may, per-
‘ haps, by a petition, have set themselves in oppo-
‘ sition to our seamen; and, that we were so slow
‘ in shewing a proper compassion for their suffer-
‘ ings, when the only opposition was, between
‘ them and those who plundered them, or tamely
‘ allowed them to be plundered.

‘ For many years, we shewed no compassion to
‘ their sufferings, but by fruitless applications to
‘ the court of *Spain*; and now we are engaged in
‘ war,

‘ war, we seem to be getting into as wrong a method for shewing our compassion, as we were in before the war was declared; for, ’tis certain, that the most proper and effectual way of shewing our compassion for those that have suffered, is to take every method we can think of, that may any way conduce towards bringing the war to a happy and speedy issue. But I must put gentlemen in mind, that at the same time, we are testifying our compassion for those that have suffered, we should think of having a compassion for those that may suffer; for, if we do not, our future sufferings may far exceed those that are past.

‘ For this purpose, Sir, the bill now proposed to be brought in, is absolutely necessary. In the present war, if proper care be not taken, our merchants may suffer vastly more by the enemy’s privateers, than they have ever done by their *Guarda Costa’s*. To prevent this, we ought, by all possible means, to encourage our ships of war, both publick and private, to attack, and take or destroy the enemy’s. Every one knows, that there is very little to be got by taking a privateer; and therefore, we can hardly suppose, that any of our privateers will attack, or endeavour to take or destroy any one of the enemy’s, unless we give them a reward for so doing. I know, that his Majesty’s ships of war are obliged to attack an enemy’s, when any of them fall in their way; but, I am afraid, that even some of his Majesty’s ships of war, will not be very diligent in looking out for such, or in cruising where such only can be met with, unless we give them something more than they can expect by the capture. This we soon became sensible of in the late war, and therefore, by the act of the 6th of Queen *Anne*, for the better securing the trade of this kingdom, by cruisers and convoys, a

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‘ reward

‘ reward of five pounds for every man on board
‘ any ship of war or privateer of the enemy’s, at
‘ the beginning of the engagement, that should be
‘ taken by any of our ships of war, publick or pri-
‘ vate, was given to the captors, over and above
‘ what they could make by the sale of the prize.

‘ This, Sir, was an encouragement that was
‘ found absolutely necessary in the late war, and
‘ after it was given, it was, by experience, found
‘ to have a very good effect. And as this is one
‘ of the encouragements intended, by the bill now
‘ proposed to you, I am surprized to find a delay
‘ proposed by a gentleman who, I am sure, has a
‘ true and sincere regard for the merchants and
‘ trade of this kingdom. To delay it but for a
‘ few days, upon a pretended punctilio of respect
‘ to the crown, may occasion the ruin of several
‘ honest merchants, and a ruin too, which might
‘ otherwise have been prevented. Sir, it has al-
‘ ready been delayed six months longer than it
‘ ought to have been. The war was certainly
‘ known to be unavoidable, at least by our mini-
‘ sters, before the end of last session; and therefore,
‘ I must say, that if they had done their duty,
‘ they should, before last session was at an end,
‘ have themselves brought in that very bill which
‘ they had so great a hand in throwing out, but
‘ the preceding session. They had time enough
‘ after the 24th of *May* to have brought it in, and
‘ to have had it passed into a law, before the con-
‘ clusion of the session. I am sure, those who
‘ brought it in the session before, would have been
‘ so far from envying them the glory or popularity
‘ of bringing it in a second time, that they would
‘ have joined in getting it passed through both
‘ houses, with the utmost dispatch; and the pass-
‘ ing of such a bill could not have tended to alarm
‘ *Spain* so much, as the vote of credit did, which
‘ was passed towards the latter end of last session.

‘ If

‘ If such a bill had been passed before the end of
‘ last session, I am convinced, our merchants would
‘ not have suffered so much as they have already
‘ done by the war. I am convinced, the enemy’s
‘ privateers would not have traversed the seas of
‘ *Europe* with so much security and impunity as
‘ they have done, since the commencement of the
‘ war.

‘ This encouragement, Sir, which is so necessary
‘ for tempting our ships of war to look out for
‘ and destroy the enemy’s privateers, is what his
‘ Majesty cannot give without the authority of an
‘ act of Parliament; at least, he cannot appropriate
‘ to that purpose, any of the money given for the
‘ publick service. He might, ’tis true, have given
‘ it out of the civil list revenue, and in that case,
‘ I shall grant, he might have promised it by pro-
‘ clamation. To have advised him to have done
‘ so, would, I believe, have been one of the best
‘ and most faithful advices that could have been
‘ given by his ministers, and I wonder that those
‘ who now seem so jealous of depriving the Sove-
‘ reign of that popularity, that may be acquired by
‘ acts of grace and favour, did not advise him to
‘ do so, especially as they had neglected to provide
‘ for it, when it ought to have been done out of
‘ the publick revenue of the kingdom. I shall
‘ grant, that it might, by this time, have amount-
‘ ed to a large sum, considering the number of
‘ privateers the enemy have fitted out against us,
‘ especially if our ships of war had been dispersed,
‘ and properly stationed for intercepting them;
‘ but, the more it had amounted to, the more
‘ esteem and affection would have been acquired,
‘ not only by his Majesty, but by those counsellors
‘ who had advised him to such a popular measure;
‘ and, the highest sum it could have amounted to
‘ might, I believe, have been compensated, by a-
‘ bolishing or curtailing some of those useless pen-
‘ sions

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‘ fions and salaries, which are now paid out of the
‘ civil list revenue, and which may add to the
‘ number of his Majesty’s servants and the mini-
‘ ster’s flatterers, but never can add to the number
‘ of his Majesty’s faithful subjects, nor to that of
‘ the minister’s sincere friends.

‘ This, I say, Sir, his Majesty might have done
‘ without the authority of an act of Parliament;
‘ but, as it has not been done, I little expect it
‘ will be done, and therefore, this encouragement
‘ ought, as soon as possible, to be given and pro-
‘ vided for out of the publick revenue of the king-
‘ dom, which can no way be done, but by such a
‘ bill as is now proposed. Besides this, Sir, there
‘ are several other things intended to be done by
‘ this bill, that can be done no way but by act of
‘ Parliament; and therefore, no delay ought to be
‘ made, upon any pretence whatsoever, in bring-
‘ ing in and passing such a bill. The very bring-
‘ ing in of such a bill, will give new spirits to those
‘ seamen that have entered, or have been pressed,
‘ into his Majesty’s service, and will prevail with
‘ many, who are now absconding, to appear and
‘ enter themselves on board some of our ships of
‘ war. We hear daily complaints of the difficulties
‘ we are under in getting seamen to man our fleet,
‘ and shall those very gentlemen who make these
‘ complaints, out of a pretended punctilio of re-
‘ spect to the crown, put off, but for a few days,
‘ doing the most proper thing we can do for
‘ removing those complaints? But, suppose we
‘ should humour those gentlemen, in their imagi-
‘ nary respect for the crown, by postponing this
‘ motion for a few days, how are we sure that any
‘ message will come from the crown in that time?
‘ And will not the argument for putting off the
‘ motion be as good then as it is now? In my o-
‘ pinion, Sir, it will be much stronger; for, if we
‘ should now postpone the motion, upon the pre-
‘ tence,

‘ tence, that it would be disrespectful to the
 ‘ crown, to order in such a bill without a message
 ‘ from the crown, I think it would shew not only
 ‘ a disrespect, but a contempt of the crown, if
 ‘ we should, at any time hereafter, order such
 ‘ a bill to be brought in without such a message;
 ‘ therefore, I hope, my honourable friend will
 ‘ insist upon his motion; I am sure, he shall
 ‘ have my hearty concurrence.’

The next that spoke was *Sir Charles Wager*,
 the purport of whose speech was as follows, viz.

‘ Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ Sir, I shall readily agree with the honourable Sir Charles
 Wager's
 speech.
 ‘ gentleman who spoke last, that it is our duty,
 ‘ as members of this house, to consider, contrive,
 ‘ and pass such laws, as we think absolutely ne-
 ‘ cessary for the publick service. When any pre-
 ‘ sent grievance is felt, or any future grievance
 ‘ apprehended, and when the one cannot be re-
 ‘ moved, nor the other prevented, without a new
 ‘ law for that purpose, it is our duty to think of,
 ‘ and pass such a law; but, as a multitude of un-
 ‘ necessary laws is as great a grievance to society
 ‘ as any grievance it can labour under, we ought
 ‘ to be extremely cautious of introducing any
 ‘ new law; for, if the evil can be remedied by
 ‘ the laws in being, we may remedy that evil,
 ‘ but we bring another upon the society, by in-
 ‘ troducing a new law for that purpose. This
 ‘ may, perhaps, be our case at present: Our sea-
 ‘ men ought to be encouraged: Our ships of war
 ‘ ought to be encouraged to do their duty; but,
 ‘ whether a new law be necessary for this pur-
 ‘ pose, is a question, I at present very much
 ‘ doubt of; and therefore, I shall be against
 ‘ bringing in a bill, till I am well convinced, that
 ‘ the laws now in being are in this respect defi-
 ‘ cient;

‘cient; for the evils proposed by this bill to be
‘remedied, cannot be said to be present evils;
‘none of them have, as yet, been felt; and whe-
‘ther they may not be prevented by a due exer-
‘cise of that power with which the crown is now
‘invested, is a question that, in my opinion, ad-
‘mits of some difficulty.

‘In the late Queen’s time, it was not so. The
‘war we were then engaged in, had been carried
‘on for several years, and the prize-office had
‘been found, by experience, to be an intolerable
‘grievance upon the officers and seamen of her
‘Majesty’s navy. I had, at that time, the ho-
‘nour of being commander of one of her Maje-
‘sty’s ships of war, and with regard to one of
‘the prizes I had the good fortune to take, I re-
‘member, I was so far from getting any thing by
‘the prize I had taken, that I was brought in
‘debt to the prize-office. This was a convincing
‘proof that some new regulation was necessary,
‘with regard to the prizes, that might be taken
‘by her Majesty’s ships of war; and it had like-
‘wise been found, by experience, that our ships
‘of war had been a little negligent of their duty
‘in looking out for, and attacking those of the
‘enemy, which at that time made the Parliament,
‘as well as the government, think it necessary to
‘give the reward of five pounds a man, mentioned
‘by the honourable gentleman that spoke last.
‘These were evils that were then present and severe-
‘ly felt, and therefore it became necessary to make
‘the new regulations which are now proposed to
‘be revived; but the Parliament did not then
‘think, that those evils would recur, or that
‘those regulations would be necessary in every fu-
‘ture war we might be engaged in. If they had,
‘they would have made those laws perpetual:
‘Whereas they were made temporary, and to
‘continue no longer than during the war we were
‘then

‘ then engaged in. Nay, I believe, if they had
‘ then but thought it probable, that those evils
‘ would always recur, they would have made
‘ those regulations perpetual. Therefore, if we
‘ now form our judgment upon the opinion that
‘ then prevailed, we must suppose, that neither
‘ of these evils will probably be felt in the pre-
‘ sent war; and surely, we are not to increase
‘ the number of our laws, which is already almost
‘ intolerable, by making new laws for preventing
‘ evils, that will probably never happen.

‘ For my part, Sir, I very much question, if
‘ any of those evils will, or can happen during
‘ the present war; because, I think, his Majesty
‘ has it very much in his power, by the laws now
‘ in being, to prevent them. He has already re-
‘ solved, that, after having some consideration
‘ for our suffering merchants, according to the
‘ value of the prize that shall be taken, he will
‘ give the whole of the residue to the captors.
‘ This, I hope, will be a sufficient encouragement
‘ for our seamen to enter into his Majesty’s ser-
‘ vice; considering the rich prizes that may fall
‘ into our hands, it will encourage the officers of
‘ his Majesty’s ships of war, to be vigilant in
‘ looking out for the enemy’s mercantile ships;
‘ and, as the preferments in the navy are all at
‘ his Majesty’s disposal, I hope they will be dis-
‘ posed of in such a manner, as must make it ne-
‘ cessary for every officer in our navy to be dili-
‘ gent in their several stations, in looking out for,
‘ and taking or destroying every ship of war be-
‘ longing to the enemy, that they can meet with
‘ and overcome. Thus, I hope, Sir, all the ends
‘ that can be answered by the bill now proposed
‘ to be brought in, may be attained by those
‘ powers, with which his Majesty is invested by
‘ the laws now in being; and, if this can be
‘ done, I am sure it is unnecessary, and conse-
‘ quently

‘ quently would be wrong, to make any new law
‘ for that purpose.

‘ But, whether the evils, which now seem to
‘ be so much apprehended, are such as may be
‘ prevented by the laws now in being, is, in my
‘ opinion, Sir, a question which his Majesty must
‘ be allowed to be the best judge of. If any new
‘ powers be wanted, either for preventing those
‘ evils, or for contributing any way to the vi-
‘ gorous prosecution and happy success of the
‘ war, I am sure, they will be applied for by his
‘ Majesty, as soon as he thinks it proper and ne-
‘ cessary to do so; and till then, we ought to
‘ suppose, either that none such are wanted, or
‘ that it is not, as yet, proper to think of them;
‘ so that even from the very nature of the case,
‘ we ought to wait for a message, or some other
‘ sort of intimation from the crown, before we
‘ begin to think of methods for encouraging our
‘ seamen, or any other part of his Majesty’s sub-
‘ jects, to do their duty, in the prosecution of
‘ the present war. If we bring in a bill for this
‘ purpose, before we have any such message, or any
‘ information from the crown, it may happen to
‘ be very imperfect and defective; and thus we
‘ may be obliged to bring in two bills, for what
‘ might have been easily done by one, which is a
‘ consequence we ought as much as possible to
‘ avoid.

‘ Whatever other gentlemen may think, Sir,
‘ of the respect that’s due to the crown, I shall
‘ always be against our doing what may in the
‘ least look like a disrespect, when it is any way
‘ possible to avoid it; and as his Majesty has, by
‘ the laws now in being, a sort of property in
‘ every prize that shall be taken by his ships of
‘ war, I cannot but think, that it will look very
‘ much like a piece of disrespect in us, to order
‘ in a bill for disposing of that property, without
‘ having

‘ having the previous consent of the crown signi-
 ‘ fy’d to us by message, or by some of those
 ‘ other methods, by which the pleasure of the
 ‘ crown is usually communicated to this house.
 ‘ This, I think, may be avoided, by postponing
 ‘ the motion but for a very few days, which I
 ‘ shall grant will be a delay with respect to the
 ‘ bringing in of the bill, but I do not think it
 ‘ will be any delay with respect to its being passed
 ‘ into a law; because, I believe, the delay in
 ‘ bringing it in, will be made good by the
 ‘ dispatch in passing it through the two houses of
 ‘ Parliament; when a bill is hastily brought in,
 ‘ it is generally found to be very imperfect; and
 ‘ therefore requires mature deliberation, and many
 ‘ amendments, in its progress through the two
 ‘ houses, which always takes up a great deal of
 ‘ time: Whereas, when it is maturely considered,
 ‘ and fully concerted, before being brought in,
 ‘ the first draught of the bill is generally so per-
 ‘ fect, that it requires but few amendments; and
 ‘ the rapidity of its progress always bears a pro-
 ‘ portion to the maturity of its first concoction.
 ‘ For this reason, as the passing of any law, that
 ‘ may be necessary for the purposes intended by
 ‘ the bill now proposed, will not be retarded by
 ‘ postponing the motion now before us, I hope
 ‘ the honourable gentleman will agree to it.’

The next speaker was the Lord *Baltimore*,
 whose speech was in substance as follows, viz.

‘ Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ Sir, Although I am far from supposing, that Lord Balti-
more's speech.
 ‘ it is necessary for us to have a message, or any
 ‘ other sort of intimation from the crown, in or-
 ‘ der to entitle us to order in such a bill as is now
 ‘ proposed; yet since those gentlemen who have
 ‘ spoke against the motion, seem so very fond of
 ‘ having

‘ having a message from the crown, or of waiting
‘ till we have such a one, as may warrant our
‘ agreeing to this motion: I must observe, that
‘ his Majesty’s speech is, in my opinion, a mes-
‘ sage sufficient for warranting our agreeing to this
‘ motion, or to any other measure, we think may
‘ contribute towards a vigorous prosecution of the
‘ present war. His Majesty, in the very begin-
‘ ning of his speech, has told us, that he called
‘ us together, at this time, sooner than has been
‘ usual of late years, that he might have the *im-*
‘ *mediate* advice and assistance of his Parliament,
‘ at this critical and important conjuncture; and
‘ that he makes no doubt, but he should meet
‘ with a ready and vigorous support in this just
‘ and necessary war. Does not his Majesty, by
‘ these words, expressly signify his pleasure, that
‘ we should *immediately* enter upon the consi-
‘ deration of what may be necessary for his sup-
‘ port in the present war, in order to give him
‘ our advice thereupon? And does not he shew,
‘ that he expects, we should readily agree to
‘ whatever we may think necessary for that sup-
‘ port? The present question therefore is not,
‘ Whether we shall wait for a message relating to
‘ the bill now proposed; for if it be necessary,
‘ or may contribute to a vigorous and successful
‘ prosecution of the war, we have already, in his
‘ Majesty’s speech, received a message; so that
‘ the only question now before us, is, Whether
‘ the regulations intended by the honourable gen-
‘ tleman, who has made you this motion, may
‘ be necessary, or may contribute to encourage our
‘ seamen to do their duty, in annoying the ene-
‘ my, and protecting the trade of our fellow-
‘ subjects, both in *Europe* and *America*, as much
‘ as shall lie in their power; and this, surely, no
‘ gentleman can pretend to be a judge of, till he
‘ sees

‘ fees the bill, which the honourable gentleman
‘ proposes to bring in.

‘ In my opinion, therefore, Sir, no gentleman
‘ can be against this motion, unless he be of opi-
‘ nion, that we have no occasion for giving any
‘ new encouragement to our seamen to enter
‘ themselves voluntarily on board our ships of
‘ war, or to do their duty when they are entered;
‘ and this is an opinion which, I think, no gen-
‘ tleman can be of, that considers the extreme
‘ backwardness our seamen shew, in entering
‘ themselves on board his Majesty’s navy; or that
‘ considers the inconveniencies we found ourselves
‘ exposed to, in the beginning of *Queen Anne’s*
‘ war. The former of these evils is what we
‘ now feel, and the latter we must certainly feel,
‘ from the very nature of things, unless we make
‘ the same provision against it, that was made in
‘ the last war. If no such provision be made,
‘ a prize-office must be set up; for though his
‘ Majesty should give the whole to the captors,
‘ he cannot empower them to appoint their own
‘ agents, for the sale and distribution of the
‘ prize, without an act of Parliament; and if a
‘ prize-office be set up, can any one expect that
‘ the officers and clerks of that office will be more
‘ honest, or less rapacious in this age, than they
‘ were in the last? I am far from thinking we
‘ have improved in publick virtue since that time:
‘ On the contrary, I believe, that a selfish and ra-
‘ pacious spirit is now more general, than it was
‘ in those days; therefore, I am convinced, that
‘ a prize-office will be found to be a greater op-
‘ pression upon our seamen in this war, than it
‘ was found to be in that; and for this reason, I
‘ think, we cannot provide too soon against it.

‘ Then, with regard to the encouragement to
‘ be given to our ships of war, to attack those of
‘ the enemy, I shall grant, Sir, that if the com-
‘ manders

‘ manders of all our ships of war were endued
‘ with a true heroick spirit, they would be as rea-
‘ dy to attack the enemy where little else but
‘ hard blows is to be got, as where the richest
‘ and most defenceless prize may be acquired;
‘ but this spirit of heroism is now, I believe, no
‘ more prevalent than it was in the last age; and
‘ will, I am convinced, be found equally ineffec-
‘ tual for the end proposed. If rewards and pu-
‘ nishments were duly and justly distributed: If
‘ merit only were preferred, and cowardice or
‘ negligence severely punished, I must confess,
‘ it would, in this respect, have a very good ef-
‘ fect upon the officers of his Majesty’s navy;
‘ but without derogating from our present excel-
‘ lent ministers, I believe, I may say, that no
‘ greater miracles can be expected from them,
‘ than were pretended to by those great men that
‘ were our ministers in the beginning of the late
‘ Queen’s reign; and they, we find, were willing
‘ to take the aid of an act of Parliament, and a
‘ pecuniary recompence, for encouraging the offi-
‘ cers even of his Majesty’s navy to do their
‘ duty. I hope our present ministers will follow
‘ their example; for whatever effect a just distri-
‘ bution of preferments may have upon the offi-
‘ cers of our publick ships of war, it can have
‘ but very little effect upon those ships of war
‘ that may be fitted out by private men; and in
‘ order to destroy that swarm of privateers, that
‘ have been, and may be fitted out by the enemy,
‘ I think it is worth our while to purchase the
‘ assistance even of our private ships of war.

‘ Sir, the laws now proposed to be revived,
‘ were not made temporary, because the Parlia-
‘ ment then thought there would be no occasion
‘ for them in any future war, but because they
‘ could be of no use but in time of war; and
‘ that Parliament, certainly, imagined, that after
‘ they

‘ they had introduced the precedent, the Parlia-
‘ ment would never fail to revive them, as soon
‘ as any new war should break out. But I must
‘ observe, that a law’s being at first made tempo-
‘ rary, is no argument against its being of perpe-
‘ tual use. It is, I think, in a free country, a very
‘ prudential caution, never to make any law at first
‘ perpetual. It is time enough to make it perpe-
‘ tual, when it is found by experience to be a good
‘ law, and no way hurtful to our constitution. If
‘ this caution had always been observed, I believe,
‘ we have now several perpetual laws, that, if
‘ they had been made temporary at first, would
‘ never have met with the honour of being revi-
‘ ved, far less of being made perpetual.

‘ The honourable gentlemen who oppose this
‘ motion, are pleased to tell us, Sir, that his Ma-
‘ jesty is the best judge of the question, Whether
‘ the evils now apprehended, may be prevented by
‘ the powers, with which the crown is already,
‘ by law, invested. I wish these gentlemen would
‘ leave his Majesty’s name out of this question, as
‘ well as every other. It is not his Majesty, but
‘ his ministers that we are to suppose judges; and,
‘ I hope, his ministers will not take it amiss, if I
‘ say, that I think this house as good a judge of
‘ this or any other question, as they are. There
‘ are several gentlemen in this house, that know
‘ the powers, with which the crown stands, by
‘ law, invested; as well as ministers can do, and,
‘ I believe, they are more impartial judges; for
‘ ministers are apt to be partial in favour of the
‘ powers and prerogatives of the crown, and to
‘ suppose them much more extensive than they
‘ really are. One may easily guess from the ex-
‘ pired laws that have been read to us, that several
‘ things are intended to be done by this bill, which
‘ cannot be done by any of the powers with which
‘ the crown now stands invested, and yet they are

‘ such things as every man must allow to be necessary for encouraging his Majesty’s subjects, of all ranks and degrees, to assist and to do their duty in the prosecution of the present war.

‘ For this reason, Sir, suppose our ministers had done all that was in the power of the crown to do, for the encouragement of our seamen in the present war, yet, it could be no argument against the utility of the bill now proposed. But, when we consider, that all has not been done that was in the power of the crown to do, it renders it not only necessary to bring in this bill, but to bring it in as soon as possible. It was in the power of the crown, to have promised to give the whole value of every prize that should be taken, to the captors. This is so far from having been done, that we are told, it is not to be done. I feel as sensibly as any man, the sufferings of our merchants, but I am not for putting the encouragement of our seamen, and consequently the success of the war, on a balance with giving them a little immediate reparation; and therefore, what the honourable gentleman, who spoke first against this motion, has told us, is, in my opinion, a strong argument for our bringing in and passing this bill. His Majesty has called us together sooner than usual, in order to have our advice: If then, his ministers have committed a mistake, ought not we, in duty to our Sovereign, to rectify that mistake as soon as possible? With regard to the prizes already taken, no gentleman, I believe, will be for altering any thing of what his Majesty has done; but, with regard to all future prizes, I hope we shall give the seamen the whole, in order to encourage them to be vigilant and active in doing their duty. No suffering merchant, that has prudence and a regard for his country, will repine at this; because, if we push the war with vigour, and providence
‘ does

‘ does not declare against us, we shall obtain full
‘ reparation for them by an honourable peace, be-
‘ fore, perhaps, even the prizes already taken shall
‘ be disposed of and divided amongst them.

‘ But suppose, Sir, it were right to give the
‘ suffering merchants a share of every prize, ought
‘ not this share to have been ascertained and pub-
‘ lickly declared before now, that our seamen
‘ might have known what they were to expect
‘ from the prizes that were to be taken by their
‘ conduct and courage? Discretionary powers are,
‘ I know, of all powers, the greatest favourites
‘ with ministers; but those ministers must have a
‘ most extravagant love for discretionary powers,
‘ who will not depart from them, or limit them,
‘ even by their own act and deed, in a case
‘ where the success of their country depends upon
‘ a limitation of some kind or other. At present
‘ our seamen do not know, that they are to have
‘ any share of the prizes they take; and this may,
‘ probably, be one of the reasons that has made
‘ them appear so much averse to his Majesty’s
‘ service. If our ministers have resolved, after
‘ reserving a small share for our suffering mer-
‘ chants, to give the whole residue to the captors,
‘ why reserve this resolution in *petto*? why not
‘ publish it by proclamation? This is what they
‘ might have done, by virtue of the powers now
‘ lodged in the crown: This would certainly have
‘ been more agreeable to our seamen, than to re-
‘ main in that uncertainty, under which they la-
‘ bour at present; and, since it has not been done
‘ by proclamation, I think we ought, as soon as
‘ possible, to endeavour to do it by act of Par-
‘ liament. In such a case, shall we wait till the
‘ ministers come and desire us to rectify their
‘ mistakes? Surely, no member of this house will
‘ say, that such a delay would be consistent with
‘ the duty, or the dignity of Parliament.

‘ If the bill now proposed were a new bill: If
 ‘ it were a bill that had never been thought of
 ‘ before, there might be some occasion for mature
 ‘ deliberation, and by considering it maturely, be-
 ‘ fore moving for leave to bring it in, the time
 ‘ might be shortened, that would otherwise be
 ‘ necessary for drawing it up. But this is not the
 ‘ case: The bill moved for, is no new bill. It is
 ‘ a bill only for reviving a law that was found ne-
 ‘ cessary in the last war, and which, from the na-
 ‘ ture of things, must appear to be necessary in
 ‘ this. Besides, the very bill now proposed, was
 ‘ fully considered, and actually brought in, two
 ‘ years ago: I believe there will be occasion for
 ‘ very little alteration, unless it be in the preamble;
 ‘ and, if any of those concerned in the administra-
 ‘ tion think, that there were any faults or deficien-
 ‘ cies in the former bill, it is to be hoped they will
 ‘ assist in the drawing up of this bill, in order to
 ‘ have those faults or deficiencies rectified; there-
 ‘ fore, I can see no reason for postponing the mo-
 ‘ tion, nor do I think that the delay thereby occa-
 ‘ sioned, can be made good by any dispatch that
 ‘ can afterwards be given in passing it through the
 ‘ several branches of our legislature; for which
 ‘ reason, if the question be put upon my honoura-
 ‘ ble friend’s motion, and I hope he will not part
 ‘ with it, I shall certainly give my affirmative to
 ‘ the question.’

John How, Esq; now Lord Chedworth, then rose
 up, and spoke to this effect.

Mr. How’s
 speech.

‘ Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ Sir, I have read over and considered his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s speech with as much care as I ever did any
 ‘ thing, and if I may be allowed to understand
 ‘ the *English* language, I am sure, there is not a
 ‘ word in the whole speech that can be supposed to
 ‘ relate

‘ relate to the bill now moved for. With regard
‘ to the supplies necessary for the service of the
‘ ensuing year, the speech may, indeed, be allow-
‘ ed to be some sort of message, and I hope we
‘ shall comply with it both readily and unanimouf-
‘ ly; but with regard to any thing else, we may,
‘ I think, as well call it a prayer, or a command,
‘ as a message. His Majesty has, ’tis true, told
‘ us, that he has called us together sooner than u-
‘ sual, in order to have our advice at this important
‘ juncture; but, if we have any thing to offer by
‘ way of advice, we ought to do it by way of an
‘ address, which is the usual way of communicating
‘ our thoughts to the crown, with regard to any
‘ thing we think ought to be done. I must think,
‘ that it is a pretty odd, and a new way of offer-
‘ ing advice to the crown, to do it by way of bill,
‘ and by a sort of bill too, that makes a direct in-
‘ croachment upon the prerogative royal; for if it
‘ be intended by the bill now proposed, to give
‘ the whole of every prize that shall be taken, to
‘ the captors, I must say, the bill will, in my opi-
‘ nion, be a direct incroachment upon the preroga-
‘ tives of the crown, among which, that of having
‘ the disposition and distribution of every thing
‘ taken from the enemy, is certainly one.

‘ By our present constitution, Sir, the crown
‘ may dispose of what is taken from the enemy,
‘ as a reward to the captors, and to encourage
‘ others to take as much as they can from the ene-
‘ my; in which case, the crown has the power of
‘ proportioning that reward to the behaviour of
‘ each man concerned in the capture, which will
‘ always have a great effect upon the behaviour of
‘ private men; whereas, if you give the whole,
‘ thus by the lump, to the captors, you put it out
‘ of the power of the publick to reward the brave-
‘ ry, or punish the indolence, of any officer or
‘ seaman concerned in his Majesty’s navy. The

‘ whole will depend upon the chance of war,
‘ which, in every sort of war, must be allowed to
‘ be very whimsical, but in a naval war it is more
‘ whimsical than in any other. A rich *galleon*, or
‘ *Spanish* register-ship may escape a most diligent
‘ admiral or captain in the *West-Indies*, or about
‘ the *Canaries*, and, by mere accident, may fall
‘ into the hands of a most slothful and negligent
‘ commander upon the coasts of *Spain*. In this
‘ case, surely, it would be justice to give some part
‘ of the prize to those who had been diligent in
‘ looking out for her, and but a very small part to
‘ those who, perhaps, by their sloth, and not by
‘ their diligence, had met with her; but if the bill
‘ now proposed, should pass into a law, the sloth-
‘ ful must have the whole, and those who were
‘ diligent, and perhaps by that diligence, threw
‘ the prize in the other’s way, must have nothing.
‘ What an effect this may have upon the behavi-
‘ our, both of our officers and seamen, I shall leave
‘ to those that hear me, to consider.

‘ In all other limited governments, Sir, the
‘ power of the supreme magistrate is always made
‘ more extensive in time of war than in time of
‘ peace; and the more dangerous the war, the
‘ more extensive the power of the supreme magi-
‘ strate is rendered. Amongst the *Romans*, who
‘ were as jealous of their liberties as any people
‘ ought in reason to be, a most absolute and arbi-
‘ trary government always took place, when they
‘ found themselves engaged in a dangerous war.
‘ What the present war may be to this nation, no
‘ one can as yet tell: I shall grant, we have as yet,
‘ no great reason to be much afraid of its conse-
‘ quences: As long as *Spain* stands single, and a-
‘ lone against us, I believe we never shall; but who
‘ knows what other powers may engage? and, if
‘ some of the other powers of *Europe* should en-
‘ gage against us, they may render the war not
‘ only

‘ only burdensome, but dangerous to this nation;
‘ in which case, I should not think it very prudent,
‘ to put restraints upon the power of our Sovereign,
‘ which our constitution is very little acquainted
‘ with, and whose consequences we had no oppor-
‘ tunity of knowing in the late war, both because
‘ it did not last but for a few years after the regu-
‘ lations, now proposed to be revived, were made,
‘ and because, from the time they were made, it
‘ was rather a land than a naval war, the enemy
‘ having been, in some measure, drove quite out
‘ of the seas, some time before the 6th of Queen
‘ *Anne*.

‘ But, Sir, suppose there were no objection to
‘ be made against any of the regulations intended
‘ by the bill, now moved for, what occasion have
‘ we to be in such a hurry, as to order the bill to
‘ be brought in the very second day of the session?
‘ Let the bill be brought in and passed when we
‘ will, we cannot make it commence till after
‘ *Christmas*; because, by treaties long since entered
‘ into, we are engaged to restore all goods and
‘ effects, found on board the ships of any nation
‘ we are at war with, if, upon examination, it shall
‘ appear, that they belonged to any of our allies,
‘ and that the ship was taken within so many
‘ weeks, in the seas of *Europe*, or so many months,
‘ in the seas of *Africa* or the *Indies*, after the de-
‘ claration of war. Now, as the war against *Spain*
‘ was declared but the 23d of *October* last, we can-
‘ not pretend to give to the captors, the goods or
‘ effects of our allies, which may be taken even in
‘ the seas of *Europe*, before *Christmas* next; there-
‘ fore, if we were now to pass the bill, as well as
‘ order it to be brought in, we could not make it
‘ begin to take effect before some day in *January*
‘ next; and, before that time, it may be passed
‘ into a law, even though it should not be brought
‘ in, or ordered to be brought in, for this week or

‘ ten days to come. For this reason, Sir, I can
‘ see no occasion for being in a hurry about or-
‘ dering this bill to be brought in, especially as
‘ some gentlemen seem to think it inconsistent
‘ with that respect which is due to the crown ;
‘ for since the passing of the bill can have no
‘ effect till the day of its commencement, and
‘ since the postponing of the motion will not post-
‘ pone the day of its commencement, I think we
‘ ought to have so much complaisance for one
‘ another, as to postpone a motion which may,
‘ in a few days hence, be unanimously agreed to,
‘ even by those who this day find fault with its
‘ having been made.

‘ Sir, I shall always be against our shewing a
‘ respect, either to the crown or to ministers,
‘ that is inconsistent with the dignity of this
‘ house ; but in the present case, I must think
‘ the delay desired, so far from being inconsistent
‘ with our dignity, that I think it would be in-
‘ consistent with the respect we owe to the crown,
‘ not to comply with it. I even wish the motion
‘ had not been made, till some message for that
‘ purpose had been sent to us from the crown.
‘ The bill is certainly in its own nature, a bill of
‘ grace and favour : Our seamen will look upon
‘ it as such, and will think themselves highly
‘ obliged to those who were the authors of it.
‘ For this reason I wish, the first step towards its
‘ introduction had been made by the crown : I
‘ think we are in duty, as well as out of respect
‘ to his Majesty, bound to allow such a bill to
‘ owe its birth to him. If the motion be post-
‘ poned but for a few days, we may probably
‘ have a message from his Majesty for that pur-
‘ pose ; and surely, those who think it a right
‘ thing, will be willing his Majesty should have
‘ the merit of proposing it. The motion that
‘ has been made, will derogate a little from that
‘ merit ;

‘ carry on the war, but to carry it on with the
‘ utmost vigour ; and therefore, I was sorry to
‘ find no mention made in his Majesty’s speech,
‘ of reviving those laws that were found necessary
‘ for carrying on the last heavy war we were en-
‘ gaged in.

‘ A paragraph for this purpose, Sir, would, I
‘ believe, have had a very good effect upon the
‘ minds of the people ; and though it was then
‘ neglected, yet, I should have been for delaying
‘ this motion a few days, for the purpose I have
‘ mentioned. But now, that the motion is made,
‘ I shall be against its being postponed, and I
‘ hope no gentleman will think of having a nega-
‘ tive put upon it. Whether it appears in our
‘ printed votes or no, it will be heard of without
‘ doors. Even the populace, and particularly our
‘ seamen, will hear that such a motion has been
‘ made in Parliament, and that it was made with-
‘ out any effect, which will be attended with
‘ very unlucky consequences. Let us consider
‘ the circumstances we are in, and the conse-
‘ quences of postponing, or putting a negative
‘ upon such a motion. We are engaged in war
‘ with an enemy that cannot be attacked by us,
‘ nor can they attack us, but by sea. For this
‘ reason, we have occasion for a great number of
‘ seamen ; for without them, we can neither at-
‘ tack the enemy, nor defend ourselves. From
‘ whatever causes it may proceed, we find, by
‘ experience, that our seamen are unwilling to en-
‘ ter into his Majesty’s service. In these circum-
‘ stances, will not our putting a negative upon
‘ this motion, or even our postponing it, render
‘ our seamen more backward than ever, to enter
‘ into his Majesty’s service ? It will be impossible
‘ to make them understand the reasons assigned
‘ for postponing it, or to make them believe that
‘ it will be shortly resumed : They will look upon
‘ the

‘ the delay as an absolute refusal to bring in or
‘ pass such a bill, and thereupon they will natu-
‘ rally reason thus with themselves: What should
‘ we enter into the King’s service for? We can
‘ have higher wages in the merchant service;
‘ and, by what has happened in Parliament we
‘ may see, that we are to have no share, or but a
‘ small share, of any prizes we may take. Will
‘ not this make them avoid entering into his Ma-
‘ jesty’s service as much as they can? And this
‘ must of course retard, if not disappoint some
‘ of our designs against the enemy.

‘ The honourable gentleman who spoke last
‘ has told us, that the bringing in of such a bill
‘ can have no effect till it be passed into a law.
‘ Sir, I must beg leave to differ from him. The
‘ very motion for bringing it in, the motion that
‘ is now before us, if it be agreed to, will have a
‘ very great and good effect. It will shew our
‘ seamen, that they are to have the whole of
‘ every prize they take, divided among them,
‘ and managed, disposed of, and distributed by
‘ agents chosen by themselves. This will make
‘ them consider, that besides their wages, they
‘ have a good chance of enriching themselves and
‘ their families, by being in the King’s service;
‘ and this will of course make them fond of be-
‘ ing in the service. I believe there will still be a
‘ want of seamen, as there always must be at the
‘ beginning of a war, unless we keep in continual
‘ pay, a large body of seamen even in time of
‘ peace; but, it will probably remove that want
‘ of seamen in his Majesty’s service, which is
‘ now so sensibly felt, and so much complained
‘ of, even by those who are for postponing this
‘ motion. Therefore, do not let us do a real in-
‘ jury to his Majesty’s service, by shewing an un-
‘ reasonable, and perhaps I may say, an imaginary
‘ respect to the crown.

‘ I was, indeed, surprized, Sir, to hear it pre-
‘ tended or insinuated, that we could not make
‘ this bill commence till the month of *January*
‘ next, because of the treaties between us, and
‘ some of the powers of *Europe*, who are now
‘ our allies and good friends. I know, Sir, that
‘ by some of those treaties, the goods of our
‘ friends or allies are not to be confiscated, though
‘ found on board an enemy’s ship, if it shall ap-
‘ pear that those goods were shipped on board
‘ that vessel, before the declaration of war, or
‘ within so many weeks or months after the de-
‘ claration of war, as are mentioned in the re-
‘ spective treaties. But what has this to do with
‘ the bill, now proposed to be brought in? Our
‘ seamen are not, by this bill, to get any title to
‘ a ship or cargo taken from the enemy, till both
‘ be condemned by our courts of admiralty, as
‘ lawful prize. Can the goods of friends, though
‘ found on board an enemy’s ship, be condemned
‘ as lawful prize, when it appears that those
‘ goods ought, by treaty, or by the law of na-
‘ tions, to be restored to the proper owners? In
‘ this case, the law is extremely plain, and care
‘ will certainly be taken in the drawing up of the
‘ bill, not to alter it, or render it doubtful, by
‘ any clause, or any expressions in the bill. The
‘ bill is to be drawn up, upon the plan of those
‘ expired laws that have been read to you, and
‘ can it be said that there is any thing in either of
‘ them, that could authorize a judge-admiral to
‘ condemn as lawful prize, all goods found on
‘ board an enemy’s ship, even though it should
‘ be made appear, that some of them belonged
‘ to the subjects of a nation in friendship with us;
‘ and that they were shipped on board that vessel
‘ before our declaration of war against *Spain*, or
‘ even after that declaration, but within the times
‘ respectively limited by treaty? What then should
‘ hinder

‘ hinder us from making the bill begin to have
 ‘ effect, as soon as it shall receive the Royal
 ‘ Assent? Therefore, we ought to pass the bill as
 ‘ soon as possible, because it will encourage the
 ‘ officers and seamen of his Majesty’s navy to be
 ‘ watchful and diligent in looking out for, and
 ‘ taking all ships belonging to the enemy; and
 ‘ we should, as soon as possible, order the bill to
 ‘ be brought in, because that very order will in-
 ‘ duce our seamen to enter themselves voluntarily
 ‘ on board his Majesty’s navy. And as our post-
 ‘ poning or disagreeing to the motion, now it is
 ‘ made, will have a quite contrary effect, when
 ‘ gentlemen consider the circumstances we are in,
 ‘ and the consequences of postponing such a mo-
 ‘ tion, I hope they will depart from their puncti-
 ‘ lio of respect to the crown, and allow the mo-
 ‘ tion to have, what it ought to have, the unani-
 ‘ mous approbation of this house.’

Sir *John Barnard* was the next that rose up in
 this debate, and his speech was to the effect as
 follows, *viz.*

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, The question has been so fully canvassed
 ‘ by those who have already spoken in this debate,
 ‘ that I shall take up but very little of your time,
 ‘ with what I have to say upon the subject. I
 ‘ find, Sir, that the gentlemen, who have oppo-
 ‘ sed this motion, pretend a respect to the crown,
 ‘ as the chief cause of their present opposition,
 ‘ and that they are not against the bill, but against
 ‘ its being moved for, till we have some message
 ‘ from his Majesty, for that purpose; but I must
 ‘ observe, that most of those who have spoke
 ‘ against the motion, have thrown out several
 ‘ things against the bill itself; and therefore, as
 ‘ some of them may be supposed to have some
 ‘ influence

Sir *John*
Barnard's
 speech.

‘ influence in his Majesty’s councils, I am afraid
 ‘ that, if we postpone the motion till we have
 ‘ a message from the crown, we must postpone it
 ‘ till the end of this session, and, perhaps, till
 ‘ the end of the war; for I doubt much, if ever
 ‘ a minister, or the favourite of a minister, will
 ‘ freely and heartily concur in the bringing in, or
 ‘ passing of such a bill; and, indeed, I do not
 ‘ wonder at it.

‘ The point really in dispute is, about taking
 ‘ from the crown, one of those discretionary
 ‘ powers, it is at present possessed of; and in such
 ‘ a dispute, Sir, I am no way surprized at hearing
 ‘ the continuance, and the utility of that power,
 ‘ argued for, by the gentlemen who have, or the
 ‘ favourites of those who have the exercise of all
 ‘ the discretionary powers of the crown, in their
 ‘ hands; for ministers are extremely apt to fan-
 ‘ cy they see great advantages in every prero-
 ‘ gative of the crown, and to be quite blind, as
 ‘ to the disadvantages it may be attended with.
 ‘ But, as I have not the honour to be concerned
 ‘ in exercising any such powers; nor, I believe,
 ‘ the good fortune to be much in the good graces
 ‘ of those that are, I can judge of the discre-
 ‘ tionary powers of the crown with less prejudice,
 ‘ and I can say without fear, that I am against all
 ‘ such, where it is not absolutely necessary; for I
 ‘ look upon a discretionary power to be very near
 ‘ a-kin to an arbitrary one; and am, therefore,
 ‘ for having as few such as possible.

‘ I shall grant, Sir, that discretionary powers
 ‘ would be of great use to society, if they were
 ‘ always to be exercised by men of consummate
 ‘ prudence, deep penetration, and strict justice;
 ‘ but, as these are qualities that do not often be-
 ‘ long to the ministers of Kings, I am, therefore,
 ‘ for trusting them with as few discretionary pow-
 ‘ ers as possible. At present, the crown has, ’tis
 ‘ true,

‘ true, the sole property in all prizes taken from
‘ the enemy, by his Majesty’s ships of war ; but,
‘ I must beg leave to observe, that this property
‘ is vested in the crown, only as trustee for the
‘ publick ; because, the whole ought to be dispo-
‘ sed of, in the most prudent manner, for the be-
‘ nefit of the publick ; and ministers may be pu-
‘ nished for a misapplication of that, as well as
‘ any other property belonging to the publick ; so
‘ that the power of disposing of those prizes, is
‘ not, even as the law stands at present, altoge-
‘ ther discretionary, nor, is it near so arbitrary,
‘ as some people may, perhaps, imagine.

‘ As our laws stand at present, the crown, or
‘ rather the ministers of the crown, have, I shall
‘ admit, a discretionary power, to apply the pro-
‘ duce of those prizes that may be taken from the
‘ enemy, by his Majesty’s ships of war, to what
‘ publick services they please, and in what man-
‘ ner they please. If I thought that the power
‘ they have, would always, or even for the most
‘ part, be made use of, in the most just and pru-
‘ dent manner, for the service of the publick,
‘ and for that only, I should be loth to take it
‘ from them ; I know it might be of great ser-
‘ vice, to leave it in the power of the crown,
‘ to grant a larger share of the prize, to some of
‘ the captors, than to others ; and sometimes to
‘ grant a share of the prize, even to those who
‘ were not immediately concerned in the capture.
‘ I know that some of those who have, by a law,
‘ a title to their share of a prize, may sometimes
‘ behave in such a negligent, or cowardly man-
‘ ner, as to deserve punishment rather than a re-
‘ ward ; and, therefore, it would be of service
‘ to the publick, to leave a discretionary power in
‘ the crown, to reward the captors, according to
‘ their several deserts, if it could be expected that
‘ this power would be wisely and justly apply’d ;
‘ but

‘ but this is not to be expected. This power will,
 ‘ I am sure, like all other discretionary powers, be
 ‘ often abused, and it may be made to serve very
 ‘ bad purposes; therefore, I am for putting an end
 ‘ to it, by vesting the property of every prize in
 ‘ the captors; and to this I am the more inclined,
 ‘ because I know, that all the officers and seamen
 ‘ in the navy, at least, those who have the greatest
 ‘ merit, would chuse it.

‘ But suppose, Sir, his Majesty were to put a
 ‘ restraint upon this discretionary power; which,
 ‘ I know, may be done without an act of Parlia-
 ‘ ment: Suppose he were to grant the whole, or
 ‘ a certain share of every prize, to the captors, by
 ‘ proclamation; yet the inconvenience of a prize-
 ‘ office would still remain: Without an act of Par-
 ‘ liament, he cannot empower the officers and sea-
 ‘ men to name their own agents: He cannot by
 ‘ proclamation order, that, with respect to this
 ‘ nomination, the minority of the officers concern-
 ‘ ed shall be determined by the majority; or that
 ‘ the minority of the ship’s company concerned
 ‘ shall be determined by the majority; therefore,
 ‘ without an act of Parliament, the grievance of a
 ‘ prize-office must still remain, and it cannot be
 ‘ expected that it should be a less grievance now,
 ‘ than it was found to be in the late Queen’s time.
 ‘ When the agents are named by ministers, they
 ‘ are not only apt to levy exorbitant fees and per-
 ‘ quisites upon the officers and seamen concerned,
 ‘ but they are apt to keep the whole produce in
 ‘ their hands, for a long time, or for ever if they
 ‘ can. It is now twelve or thirteen years since our
 ‘ last skuffle with *Spain*; and, I believe, some of
 ‘ the prizes which were then taken, are not as yet
 ‘ accounted for: I believe, the whole produce of
 ‘ some of them, remains yet in the hands of those
 ‘ agents, that were appointed by the crown;
 ‘ which, I am sure, would not have been the case,
 ‘ if

‘ if the agents had been appointed by the officers
‘ and seamen concerned.

‘ This inconvenience, therefore, must still sub-
‘ sist, unless some such bill, as what is now pro-
‘ posed, be brought in, and passed into a law; and
‘ besides the whole, or a certain share of the prizes,
‘ there are several other things intended to be
‘ established by this bill, which will be of great
‘ service in the prosecution of the present war;
‘ and which cannot be established any other way,
‘ than by an act of Parliament. The five pounds
‘ *per* man, reward, can be given no other way;
‘ and, in my opinion, it is absolutely necessary to
‘ give it, in order to encourage our ships of war
‘ to destroy those of the enemy. Preferment may
‘ be one motive, but that motive is not of itself
‘ sufficient, even though duly and regularly be-
‘ stowed, which can hardly be expected; for true
‘ merit is seldom the most prevalent title to prefer-
‘ ment. A pecuniary reward is a motive much
‘ more certain, and therefore much stronger. Mo-
‘ ney often makes men do, what nothing else can
‘ make them do. Without such a reward, it is not
‘ to be expected, that any of our privateers will
‘ attack those of the enemy. That privateers sel-
‘ dom attack one another, is become almost a pro-
‘ verb, in every nation of *Europe*. In King *Wil-*
‘ *liam's* war, the *French* and *Spanish* privateers of-
‘ ten met in the bay of *Biscay*. They were upon
‘ opposite sides in the war; but, did they ever at-
‘ tack one another? No, Sir, when they met, like
‘ good friends, they saluted, wish'd one another a
‘ successful trip, and went upon their respective
‘ business. No one of them ever fought another,
‘ but once, that the captain of a *Spanish* privateer,
‘ and the captain of a *French* one, had a personal
‘ quarrel at a neutral port, whereupon they sailed
‘ out to sea, and engaged their two ships in the
‘ quarrel. If we have a mind, therefore, to have

‘ the enemy’s privateers destroyed, we must tempt
 ‘ our own by a pecuniary reward, as well as the
 ‘ hopes of preferment, to attack them; and this
 ‘ can only be done by act of Parliament.

‘ Lastly, Sir, with regard to the encouragement
 ‘ intended, by this bill, to be given to private ad-
 ‘ venturers, to attack and take some of the domi-
 ‘ nions belonging to the enemy: This, too, can
 ‘ only be done by act of Parliament. His Majesty
 ‘ may, ’tis true, incorporate them by charter; but
 ‘ he cannot, by charter, impower them to sail
 ‘ within the limits of the *South-Sea* company’s
 ‘ charter, those limits being exclusively established
 ‘ and secured to that company by act of Parlia-
 ‘ ment. Nay, I doubt, if his Majesty’s commis-
 ‘ sion can give our privateers a right to sail within
 ‘ the limits of that company’s charter, because by
 ‘ act of Parliament it is declared, that every other
 ‘ person, besides those employed by the company,
 ‘ that shall frequent, or trade to the *South-Seas*,
 ‘ shall forfeit the ship and goods, and double the
 ‘ value thereof. In our present circumstances there-
 ‘ fore, a new law is absolutely necessary, for im-
 ‘ powering our privateers and private adventurers,
 ‘ to sail within the limits of that company’s char-
 ‘ ter; and till such a law be passed, we cannot
 ‘ propose to make any great advantage of the war;
 ‘ for which reason, I hope the present motion will
 ‘ not only be insisted on, but agreed to.’

Sir Robert Walpole then stood up, and gave his
 sentiments in substance as follows, *viz.*

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, Whatever other gentlemen may think, I
 ‘ can see no reason why we should be now more
 ‘ jealous of the discretionary powers lodged by our
 ‘ constitution in the crown, than we were hereto-
 ‘ fore; for, I am sure, no man can say, that his
 ‘ present

Sir Robert
 Walpole’s
 speech.

present Majesty has ever made an improper or imprudent use of any one of them. The property of all conquests made, and all prizes taken from the enemy, has been vested in the crown ever since we had any such thing as a constitution, except for a few years in the late Queen's reign; and the war we were then engaged in, was so heavy upon the nation, that it was prudent and necessary, at that time, to encourage, by an established and publick law, all private adventurers to distress the enemy, by giving them the sole and absolute property in every thing they should take; but, I do not think the war we are now engaged in, is, as yet, become so heavy as to render it necessary for us to make an alteration in our constitution, for the sake of carrying it on with the more vigour. Besides, there is a very great difference between our circumstances now, and our circumstances when those laws were made, that are now proposed to be revived. The war we were then engaged in, had been declared and continued for above three or four years before those laws were made; so that, if any of our friends had then any goods on board the ships of our enemies, or had granted any policies of insurance upon any of those ships, they could pretend no excuse, nor had they the least shadow of an argument against our shewing no regard to them, when those ships fell into our hands. Whereas the war we are now engaged in, is but just declared, and therefore, even our people at home, as well as our friends abroad, may have valuable properties on board *Spanish* ships, which were ship'd on board, before they heard of the rupture; or they may have granted policies of insurance for large sums of money, before they had the least notice of our declaration of war; in which case, I think it would be very hard, and, in my opinion, unjust,

‘ to shew no regard to them, in case any of those
‘ ships should fall into our hands.

‘ I shall admit, Sir, that the judges of our
‘ courts of admiralty could not declare those goods
‘ to be lawful prize, that should appear to belong
‘ to our friends, and to have been ship’d on board
‘ before the declaration of war, or even after the
‘ declaration of war, but before the time limited
‘ by treaties between them and us; but, if we
‘ should stand peremptorily upon the very letter of
‘ the law, especially with regard to those foreign
‘ friends with whom we have no such treaties, it
‘ might afford many just causes of complaint a-
‘ gainst us; and our judges could give no relief in
‘ any case where the express letter of the law is
‘ against the claimants, particularly with regard to
‘ insurance; for though the insurance was made
‘ perhaps here at *London*, before the declaration
‘ of war, the judge must declare the whole ship
‘ and cargo lawful prize, without the least regard
‘ to the insurer; and, by this bill, you’ll put it out
‘ of the power of his Majesty to shew any regard
‘ to him, or to give him any relief; though for
‘ his credit’s sake, he would be obliged to pay,
‘ even to the subjects of *Spain*, the sum for which
‘ he had taken a premium and granted a policy.

‘ From these considerations, Sir, I think, it is
‘ evident, that our circumstances are now very
‘ different from what they were, when those laws
‘ were made, which are now proposed to be revi-
‘ ved; and that it is, as yet, a little too early to
‘ think of reviving those laws, which were not
‘ made till four years after that war was commen-
‘ ced. The reviving of them so soon after the
‘ declaration of war, may be attended with many
‘ inconveniencies, they could not be subject to,
‘ when first enacted: It is, I think, as yet a doubt,
‘ whether or no it will be necessary to make such
‘ an alteration in our constitution, during the pre-
‘ sent

‘ sent war; and, I think, it ought not to be made,
‘ unless it be found absolutely necessary; because,
‘ whatever exceptions we may be obliged to make
‘ upon particular occasions, I hope, it will always
‘ be held as a general rule, not to be departed from
‘ without necessity, to vest in the crown, the pro-
‘ perty of every thing taken from a publick and
‘ declared enemy, and to leave the disposal or ap-
‘ plication of that property to our Sovereign.

‘ I shall readily grant, Sir, that with respect to
‘ the disposal of this property, the crown is pro-
‘ perly but a trustee for the publick. The whole
‘ ought to be applied, in some shape or other, to
‘ the service of the publick; and the Parliament
‘ may call to account, and ought to punish severe-
‘ ly, any minister, that shall dare to apply the least
‘ part of it otherwise; but, I hope, it will be grant-
‘ ed, that there are several publick services, to
‘ which it may be usefully applied: Therefore,
‘ the applying of the whole, by an established and
‘ unalterable law, to any one particular service,
‘ may be both imprudent and unjust; and I must
‘ think, that those who are entrusted, by our So-
‘ vereign, with the conduct and management of
‘ our publick affairs, may, without any breach of
‘ modesty, pretend, that they are the best judges
‘ of those publick services, to which this property
‘ ought to be applied; for they must know many
‘ facts, and the general circumstances of the nation,
‘ with regard both to our foreign and domestick
‘ affairs, much better than others can do; and,
‘ if they have not so much common sense, the
‘ Parliament ought to think of bringing about a
‘ change in the administration, rather than of en-
‘ croaching upon the prerogatives of the crown.

‘ In the present war, Sir, I shall mention only four
‘ publick services, to all of which, or to one or other
‘ of which, every gentleman will, I believe, allow,
‘ that the produce of the prizes taken from the

‘ enemy, ought to be applied. This produce may
‘ be applied as an encouragement to the captors,
‘ in order to encourage our people to take as much
‘ as they can from the enemy; or it may be appli-
‘ ed for giving reparation to our injured merchants;
‘ or it may be applied for defraying a part of the
‘ expence of carrying on the war, in order to
‘ prevent our being obliged to encroach upon the
‘ sinking fund, or to load our people with any
‘ new or additional taxes; or lastly, it may be
‘ applied towards paying off a part of our publick
‘ debts. If we should have the good luck to seize
‘ upon any very valuable prizes, I shall be so free
‘ as to declare, that, in my opinion, the produce
‘ of them should be divided, and applied in some
‘ certain proportions, to every one of these pur-
‘ poses, or at least to the first three. I am, as
‘ much as any gentleman can in prudence be, for
‘ encouraging our seamen; and therefore, when
‘ the prize is but of small value, or not above a
‘ certain value, I should be for giving the whole
‘ to the captors; but when the prize is of an im-
‘ mense value, as some of them may, and, I hope,
‘ will be, I am sure, if you give the whole to the
‘ seamen concerned in the capture, they will be
‘ seamen no more.

‘ There is one ship now expected, Sir, from
‘ *Buenos Ayres*, which is reckoned worth a million
‘ sterling: This ship may happen to be taken by
‘ one single man of war: If this should be the case,
‘ in my opinion, any minister that should give the
‘ whole of such a prize to the captors, would de-
‘ serve to be impeached by Parliament; and I must
‘ think, it would be a little odd for the Parliament
‘ to do by an act of theirs, what they ought, and,
‘ I believe, certainly would impeach a minister for
‘ doing, or advising his Majesty to do. It would be
‘ giving a most extravagant reward to the captors,
‘ and doing, I think, an act of great injustice to
‘ the

‘ the nation, and in particular, to the suffering
‘ merchants. If such a prize should happen to be
‘ taken by one single man of war, we might give
‘ a sufficient reward to the captors, and might re-
‘ serve as much as would go some length towards
‘ giving full reparation to our suffering merchants,
‘ and save our land-holders, for one year at least,
‘ a shilling in the pound land tax: And both these
‘ sets of men have, I think, some title to our re-
‘ gard, as well as our seamen. Every war must
‘ fall heavy upon our land-holders; and therefore,
‘ when we are successful, some part of what we
‘ get by the war, ought to be applied to their re-
‘ lief: And as to our suffering merchants, I think,
‘ we are both in honour and justice bound to make
‘ good to them, at least the 95,000 *l.* which was
‘ to have been paid to them by *Spain*, in case we
‘ had not begun hostilities against that nation.

‘ We have already, Sir, met with some success
‘ in the war. We have already got some consider-
‘ able prizes; and his Majesty has given his royal
‘ word, that our suffering merchants shall be con-
‘ sidered, when those prizes come to be disposed
‘ of; but, I must observe, that, if the bill which
‘ was brought in, two years ago, had passed into
‘ a law, those merchants could have expected no
‘ share of these prizes: And if such another bill
‘ should be passed in this session, they can expect
‘ no share of any future prize: They can expect
‘ no farther reparation till the end of the war,
‘ which, I think, would not be altogether just;
‘ for I must think, it would be unreasonable to
‘ make them wait till the conclusion of a war,
‘ which may last for several years, without any
‘ reparation, whilst many others of our subjects are
‘ making rich by the prizes they take; and I must
‘ think, it would be still more unreasonable, to
‘ make the reparation of our merchants depend
‘ upon the uncertain event of a war. By so doing,

‘ we may encourage our seamen, but we shall very
‘ much discourage our merchants; and let us con-
‘ sider, that if we have no merchants, we can have
‘ no trade, and that without trade, we shall have
‘ but few seamen.

‘ I wish, Sir, with all my heart, we had already
‘ met with more success than we have done; but
‘ those who consider the many chances that are a-
‘ gainst us, must give thanks to Providence, for
‘ the success we have already met with. In such a
‘ wide sea, as that between *New* and *Old Spain*,
‘ ’tis a great chance, if our squadrons meet with
‘ any of the enemy’s ships. Even though our
‘ squadrons got sight of them, a dark night, a fog,
‘ or a contrary wind intervening, may prevent
‘ their being taken. Besides this, the enemy may,
‘ probably, soon find out how our squadrons are
‘ stationed, and may, by sending out several ad-
‘ vice-boats, prevent their rich ships from coming
‘ near those stations; for several straggling advice-
‘ boats may, more probably, meet with a ship at
‘ sea, than can be expected from a squadron, which
‘ must always keep close together. By this means
‘ they prevented their *Assogues* ships falling into
‘ the hands of Admiral *Haddock*’s squadron; and
‘ yet those ships would in all probability have
‘ fallen into our hands, as well as the *Caracca* ships,
‘ if Admiral *Vernon* had not met with such contra-
‘ ry winds, that he could not get out of the chan-
‘ nel, till about the time of their arrival in *Spain*.

‘ These considerations must shew, Sir, that it
‘ will be a great chance, if we meet with many
‘ rich prizes during the war; and therefore, we
‘ ought to make the best use of those we do meet
‘ with. If the disposing of them be left to his
‘ Majesty, I am persuaded, the best and the most
‘ prudent use will be made of them; but if it be
‘ thought necessary to regulate this matter by a
‘ new law, I hope gentlemen will take time to
‘ consider

‘ consider of it. I think, I have shewn, that it
 ‘ will be no easy matter to make proper regula-
 ‘ tions for this purpose; and therefore, I hope,
 ‘ gentlemen will, by postponing the motion, take
 ‘ time to consider of what is most proper to be
 ‘ done.’

The next that spoke was *Philip Gibbon*, Esq;
 the purport of whose speech was as follows, viz.

‘ Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ Sir, The opposition to the present motion, Mr. Gibbon's
speech.
 ‘ seems now to be upon a footing very different
 ‘ from what it was put on at first. The objec-
 ‘ tions at first made use of against the motion,
 ‘ were only upon account of its being too early;
 ‘ it was not so much as pretended, that the mo-
 ‘ tion was in itself wrong, or that we ought not
 ‘ to bring in and pass such a bill in this session of
 ‘ Parliament. We were only told, that such bills
 ‘ ought to proceed originally from the crown;
 ‘ and, that therefore we ought to wait a few
 ‘ days, in order to give his Majesty an opportu-
 ‘ nity to send us a message for that purpose. But
 ‘ now the debate seems to have taken a different
 ‘ turn; for the arguments made use of by the
 ‘ honourable gentleman who spoke last, seem to
 ‘ be levelled against the bill itself, and that there-
 ‘ fore no such motion ought to be made at this
 ‘ time, or at any future time. This, indeed,
 ‘ I suspected would be the turn which the debate
 ‘ would take at last; and therefore, I foresaw
 ‘ what, I think, is now evident, that postponing
 ‘ the motion would be the same with rejecting it.
 ‘ For this reason, Sir, if the motion be now
 ‘ disagreed to, I shall expect no agreement to any
 ‘ such motion, during this session of Parliament;
 ‘ and much less shall I expect any message from
 ‘ the crown for that purpose. To vest the pro-
 ‘ perty

‘ perty of every thing taken from the enemy, in
‘ the captors, by act of Parliament, and thereby
‘ to destroy an office which has always been a lu-
‘ crative one to the officers employed, who are
‘ all named by the crown, must be allowed to be
‘ a diminution of that power which is now lodged
‘ in the crown, and consequently in the ministers
‘ of the crown; and I do not think, that even our
‘ present ministers have given us any room to
‘ hope, that they will advise his Majesty to apply
‘ for any such act of Parliament. To tell us,
‘ upon such an occasion, that there is no reason
‘ for our being jealous of any of the discretionary
‘ powers lodged in the crown, or that his present
‘ Majesty has never made an improper use of any
‘ of them, is an argument that, out of respect to
‘ his Majesty, ought never to be made use of in
‘ this house. His Majesty never has made, his
‘ Majesty never can, by our constitution, make
‘ an improper or imprudent use of any of the
‘ prerogatives of the crown; but his ministers
‘ may, and by our constitution, we may in this
‘ house say, that they have. We meet here, Sir,
‘ to watch over and preserve the liberties of the
‘ people, and therefore we ought always to be
‘ jealous of every discretionary power, be it lodg-
‘ ed where it will: We ought to admit of none
‘ such, but those that are absolutely necessary for
‘ the administration of our government, and the
‘ preservation of our constitution.

‘ The discretionary power which is to be limit-
‘ ed by the bill now proposed, is so far from be-
‘ ing necessary, that it was found to be a grie-
‘ vance in the last war, and will certainly be
‘ found to be one in this. Bills in Parliament are
‘ often designed to prevent grievances that are
‘ foreseen, as well as to remedy grievances that
‘ have been felt; and, I am sure, he must be
‘ very little acquainted with the history of the
‘ last

‘ last war, or the nature of things, who does not
‘ foresee the grievances which this bill is designed
‘ to prevent. The prize-office was, in the last
‘ war, found to be a most intolerable grievance
‘ upon the officers and seamen of our navy; and
‘ the backwardness that was shewn by our priva-
‘ teers, and even by our publick ships of war, to
‘ attack those of the enemy, was then found to
‘ be a grievance of very pernicious consequence
‘ to our trade. These were grievances that did
‘ not proceed from the nature of the war we were
‘ then engaged in: They proceeded from the na-
‘ ture of mankind; and will therefore be found
‘ to be grievances in every war we can be enga-
‘ ged in, unless the same methods be taken for
‘ preventing them, that were then taken for re-
‘ moving them. In publick offices, the officers
‘ will extort fees and perquisites from those that
‘ are obliged to have recourse to that office, and
‘ will detain in their own hands, the money that
‘ goes through their office, as long as they can,
‘ in spite of all the care that can be taken to
‘ prevent it; therefore no such office should ever
‘ be established or kept up, if the publick busi-
‘ ness can be carried on without it. The publick
‘ service may be a motive with some men for at-
‘ tacking the enemy’s privateers; but the publick
‘ is generally best served, when men know that
‘ they serve themselves, by serving the publick;
‘ and therefore, care should be taken to join these
‘ two services together, in every case where it is
‘ possible. Thus we may see, that both the
‘ grievances that were felt in the last war, pro-
‘ ceeded from the nature of mankind, and conse-
‘ quently must be felt in this war as well as they
‘ were in that. What then should hinder us from
‘ taking the same methods now to prevent them,
‘ that were then taken to remedy them? Those
‘ methods were then found to be effectual, and
‘ to

‘ to be attended with no inconvenience ; and
‘ therefore it may, with much more propriety, be
‘ asked, what should make us now more shy of
‘ abolishing any of the discretionary powers of
‘ the crown, than we were at that time ?

‘ The heaviness of that war, Sir, might have
‘ been made use of as an argument for our being
‘ cautious of diminishing any of the discretionary
‘ powers of the crown, because in time of war,
‘ the more absolute a government is, the more
‘ vigorously, and the more expeditiously, it may
‘ exert its strength ; but those we had the good
‘ luck to have at that time in our administration
‘ judged better. They were not so fond of dis-
‘ cretionary powers as to oppose any diminution,
‘ they saw would contribute towards encouraging
‘ our seamen to execute their orders with vigour
‘ and alacrity. If the modern way of thinking
‘ had prevailed among them, they had better rea-
‘ son than we can have at present to say, that the
‘ whole of what is taken from the enemy ought
‘ not to be given to the captors, that some part
‘ of it ought to be applied to the expence of car-
‘ rying on the war, in order to ease the people of
‘ the burden ; for the heavier, the more burden-
‘ some a war is upon the people, surely there is
‘ the more reason for taking every method that
‘ can be thought of, to ease the people of a part
‘ of that burden. This argument, I say, Sir,
‘ might have then been insisted on with more rea-
‘ son than now ; and our ministers might then,
‘ as well as now, have endeavoured to recom-
‘ mend themselves to our county electors, by an
‘ affected compassion for the burdens thrown
‘ upon our land-holders. But they scorned to
‘ amuse any set of men in the kingdom with such
‘ frivolous and shallow pretences. If they had,
‘ I am sure, we should have acquired no such
‘ glory as we did by that war, and the nation
‘ might

‘ might have been put to a much greater expence,
‘ by being much longer engaged in it; for the
‘ more vigorously a war is prosecuted, the sooner
‘ it will be brought to a conclusion; and if, by
‘ applying to the present ease of the people, what
‘ should be applied to the encouragement of those
‘ employed in prosecuting the war, we should
‘ make it endure but for one year longer than it
‘ would otherwise have done, the people will al-
‘ ways find themselves losers by the favour pre-
‘ tended to be done them, besides the danger the
‘ nation may be exposed to by a languid prosecu-
‘ tion of the war, and the loss our trade must suf-
‘ fer, by not putting so speedy an end to it as we
‘ might have done.

‘ To prevent, therefore, the grievance of a
‘ prize-office, which was so grievous to our sea-
‘ men in the beginning of the last war, and must,
‘ from the nature of things become equally grie-
‘ vous in this; and to encourage our ships of
‘ war, both publick and private, to attack and
‘ destroy those of the enemy, neither of which
‘ can be done by the authority of the crown
‘ alone, the passing of such a bill as is now pro-
‘ posed is, I think, absolutely necessary; and I
‘ must likewise think, that our present circumstan-
‘ ces make it necessary to have it brought in as
‘ soon as possible, and without waiting for the
‘ ceremony of having a message from the crown
‘ for that purpose. It is certain, it is acknow-
‘ ledged even by those who oppose this motion,
‘ that our seamen at present shew an aversion to
‘ his Majesty’s service. Let that aversion proceed
‘ from what it will, we ought to endeavour to
‘ remove it. To assure them, by act of Parlia-
‘ ment, of the property of every thing they take
‘ from the enemy, and to free them from the
‘ plague of dancing attendance through an office,
‘ for the recovery and distribution of that pro-
‘ perty,

‘ perty, will certainly contribute, in some mea-
‘ sure, to remove that aversion; and in framing
‘ the bill, perhaps, some new and additional
‘ means may be thought of; therefore, I am
‘ astonished to hear a motion for such a bill oppo-
‘ sed by those, who complain so much of a want
‘ of seamen for his Majesty’s ships of war. But
‘ I am still more astonished to hear them oppose it
‘ upon a pretence, that no such bill ought to be
‘ brought in, without a previous message from
‘ the crown for that purpose. What a dan-
‘ gerous doctrine this is, every gentleman must
‘ be sensible of, that considers the nature of the
‘ bill. It is a bill for altering, nay for abolishing
‘ one of the prerogatives of the crown; and,
‘ shall it be admitted in this house as a maxim,
‘ that we can make no alteration with regard to
‘ any of the prerogatives of the crown, unless
‘ we have leave to do so, by a previous message
‘ from the crown? I hope no gentleman will in-
‘ sist upon the necessity of our having any such
‘ leave. I hope it will be unanimously admitted,
‘ that all the prerogatives of the crown are under
‘ the cognizance of Parliament, and that any one
‘ of them may be altered, restrained, or quite
‘ abolished by act of Parliament, when the pub-
‘ lick service, or the safety of our constitution,
‘ requires it. Sir, if I were against the bill, I
‘ should be for the motion, if it were for no other
‘ reason but because this has been made use of as
‘ an argument against our agreeing to it; for,
‘ I should be afraid, lest a seeming approbation of
‘ such an argument, should be afterwards made
‘ use of as a precedent, for establishing such a
‘ maxim. But, as I am for the bill, I have a
‘ twofold reason for agreeing to the motion; and
‘ as I think it necessary in our present circum-
‘ stances, to bring in the bill as soon as possible,
‘ I shall be against postponing the motion upon
‘ any

‘ any pretence whatsoever ; for, if there be such
‘ difficulties as have been represented, in framing
‘ a proper bill for the purposes intended, those
‘ difficulties can be no way augmented by an or-
‘ der for bringing it in. Such an order will
‘ awaken the attention of the nation, and may
‘ probably bring in assistance from those without
‘ doors, which we cannot expect till we have
‘ once ordered the bill to be brought in.

‘ I hope I have now shewn, Sir, that a bill is
‘ absolutely necessary for preventing the grievance
‘ our seamen may be exposed to by a prize-office,
‘ and for preventing the loss our trade may suffer,
‘ by our ships of war being slack in attacking
‘ those of the enemy ; and, I hope I have like-
‘ wise shewn, that the bill, and consequently the
‘ order for bringing it in, will certainly tend to
‘ remove that aversion to his Majesty’s service,
‘ which at present prevails among our seamen,
‘ and that therefore it ought at least to be ordered
‘ in immediately. If difficulties should occur in
‘ drawing up the bill, I am sure, there can be
‘ no difficulty in ordering it to be brought in ;
‘ and the sooner it is ordered to be brought in,
‘ and persons appointed for that purpose, the
‘ sooner those difficulties would be got over ; for
‘ till then, the solving of those difficulties may
‘ be said to be every man’s business, and we all
‘ know, that what is every body’s business is no
‘ body’s business. But, I do not think, that the
‘ difficulty in framing this bill, will be found near
‘ so great as the honourable gentleman has been
‘ pleased to represent : We have a plan before us
‘ in what was done last war. Besides, the whole
‘ affair was fully considered, and a bill actually
‘ framed and brought into this house, two years
‘ ago : I wish that bill had been then passed into
‘ a law : If it had, we might perhaps have found
‘ *Spain* for pliant, and by that means we might
‘ have

‘ have prevented a war. At least, we should
‘ have found less difficulty in getting seamen to
‘ man our fleet at the first breaking out of the
‘ war; and I cannot as yet find out, that our
‘ passing it at that time, would have been attend-
‘ ed with any inconvenience.

‘ I am surpriz’d, Sir, to hear the honourable
‘ gentleman say, that if the bill had been then
‘ passed into a law, our suffering merchants could
‘ have expected no share of the prizes we have
‘ already taken. Surely, the honourable gentle-
‘ man cannot have forgot, that though the bill
‘ had passed into a law, it was not to take effect
‘ till several weeks after his Majesty’s declaration
‘ of war; therefore, it could no way relate to
‘ any of the prizes we have already taken, or to
‘ any we shall take for some time to come. But
‘ if it had, I believe it would have been an ad-
‘ vantage to the kingdom in general; and very
‘ probably to our suffering merchants themselves;
‘ because the passing of that bill would have en-
‘ couraged them to prepare, and to join in a so-
‘ ciety for making captures or conquests upon the
‘ enemy; by which, they might have got a
‘ more ample and speedy satisfaction, than they
‘ can expect from having a share of those prizes,
‘ that have been, or may be taken from the
‘ enemy, by his Majesty’s ships of war.

‘ For this reason, Sir, neither the honourable
‘ gentleman, nor his friends, can now have any
‘ reason to exult in their having then thrown out
‘ that bill; and if they now throw it out a se-
‘ cond time, I believe, they’ll find themselves
‘ very much disappointed, if they expect thanks,
‘ for so doing, from our suffering merchants, or
‘ from any set of men in the kingdom; for even
‘ the suffering merchants would, I am convinc’d,
‘ chuse to wait for their reparation, till the end of
‘ the war, rather than to have the war protracted,

‘ or

‘ or the nation obliged to submit to a dishonourable peace, for the sake of giving them an immediate reparation.’

The next that rose up, and the last who spoke upon this subject, was *William Pulteney*, Esq; who concluded the debate, as follows, *viz.*

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, As I did not expect an opposition to my motion, I, at first, avoided taking up your time, with saying any thing in its favour; but now, that it has been opposed by so many gentlemen, and by gentlemen of such weight, I hope I shall be indulged the liberty of giving you my reasons for making it, and of adding something to what other gentlemen have done me the favour to say, by way of answer to the objections that have been made to it.

Mr. Pulteney's speech

‘ I shall freely own, Sir, that if I had not made you this motion, I should have been mighty easy about delaying it for a few days: I should have most readily agreed to such a delay, if it had been for no other reason but to oblige those gentlemen near me, who have always seemed fond of delays, with regard to every measure that had the face of war; but, as they had resolved upon, and actually declared war, since I last had the honour to meet them in this house, I presumed, they had altered their affections, and that they would now be fond of every measure, that might contribute towards a vigorous prosecution of that war, they had at last agreed to declare. If I had but suspected, that it was otherwise; or, if they had any way signified their desire to me, before I made my motion, I should have waved making it for a few days; but, now it is made, I cannot part with it; because, as an honourable gentleman has already observed in this debate, the postpo-

‘ ning of it, after it has been once moved, will be
‘ look’d on, without doors, as putting a negative
‘ upon it; and this, in our present circumstances,
‘ may be attended with most terrible consequences.

‘ If the motion be popular, Sir, I am glad to
‘ hear it: It is, in my opinion, a very strong proof
‘ of its being right; but, I did not make it with
‘ any view of popularity, and should have been
‘ glad to have shared the popularity of it, with
‘ the honourable gentleman near me, and with e-
‘ very gentleman, who has the honour of being a
‘ member of this house; which would have been
‘ the case, if it had not been opposed. It will still,
‘ in a great measure, be the case, if it happens to
‘ be agreed to; because, it will then be the act of
‘ the house, and every member will have his share
‘ of that popularity which may be acquired by it.
‘ But, I must think the conduct of some gentle-
‘ men, who generally agree in opinion, very sin-
‘ gular upon this occasion. Some of them say,
‘ the bill I have proposed is so right and so popu-
‘ lar a measure, that we ought to allow the crown
‘ to have the credit of proposing it; whilst others
‘ rise up and tell us, that it is quite wrong, that it
‘ would be an unnecessary and dangerous incroach-
‘ ment upon the prerogatives of the crown, and
‘ that it would be doing an injustice to our suffer-
‘ ing merchants, to our land-holders, and to the
‘ people in general.

‘ These two methods of arguing, I profess, Sir,
‘ I do not know how to reconcile. If we should
‘ resolve to postpone the motion, and wait for a
‘ message from the crown, I’m afraid, it would
‘ occasion a division in his Majesty’s councils; and
‘ therefore, to preserve the usual unanimity there,
‘ I believe it will be the best way for us, not to
‘ wait for such a message, but to enter immediately
‘ into the merits of what I have proposed, and if
‘ it be right, agree to it. For this end, I shall lay
‘ before

‘ before you the reasons that induced me to make
‘ this motion, and answer some of the objections
‘ that have been made to it. In the late war, Sir,
‘ I mean that in the late Queen’s time, we had so
‘ great success, and gained so much glory, that I
‘ thought the best thing we could do in the pre-
‘ sent war, would be to consider our conduct in
‘ the late war, in order to make that a rule for our
‘ conduct in this. With this view, Sir, as soon
‘ as I thought that a war with *Spain* was become
‘ unavoidable, which was above two years ago, I
‘ began to recollect the several steps that had been
‘ taken for carrying on the late war. One of the
‘ supports we had in that war, I mean a powerful
‘ alliance upon the continent, I foresaw, we could
‘ hardly expect in this, and that therefore, it would
‘ be necessary for us, to make the best use of our
‘ own strength. Among the other methods taken
‘ in the last war, for exerting our own strength, I
‘ observed, that two laws have been made, for en-
‘ couraging our seamen to do their duty; and, for
‘ encouraging private men to join together in so-
‘ cieties for attacking and making conquests upon
‘ the enemy. As these laws were made to conti-
‘ nue only during that war, I thought it would be
‘ necessary to revive them, in case of a new war
‘ with *Spain*; and for this purpose, I did, with
‘ the assistance of some other gentlemen, bring in
‘ a bill two years ago. The bill was then rejected,
‘ because we were not come to an actual rupture;
‘ but, that objection being now removed, I thought
‘ it incumbent upon me to offer my bill again to
‘ the house; and, for this purpose I made you the
‘ motion now under your consideration.

‘ To encourage our seamen to do their duty,
‘ and to encourage even private men, at their own
‘ expence, to attack and distress the enemy, must
‘ necessarily contribute greatly to a vigorous pro-
‘ secution of the war; and, if it be vigorously pro-

‘secuted, it cannot be of long duration. Sir, as
‘the affairs of *Europe* are at present circumstanced,
‘our very being depends upon bringing this war
‘to a speedy conclusion. There is a spirit of late
‘years raised in every nation of *Europe* for impro-
‘ving their trade, navigation, and manufactures.
‘All the powers of *Europe*, except *Spain* and us,
‘are now at peace amongst themselves: Our two
‘great rivals in trade, the *Dutch* and *French*, are
‘in perfect tranquillity. What then shall become
‘of our trade, if, by a languid prosecution of the
‘war, we allow it to be interrupted for several
‘years by privateers under *Spanish* colours, whilst
‘our rivals in trade are carrying on theirs without
‘any disturbance? By the difference of freight
‘and insurance, they will be enabled to under-sell
‘us, and in a few years, to turn us out of every
‘market in the known world. Thus our trade
‘must be undone, unless, by a vigorous prosecu-
‘tion, we bring *Spain* to a speedy compliance.
‘*Spain* has no trade to lose: She has no trade to
‘be interrupted, but that between one part of her
‘own dominions and another, and this trade may
‘be suspended, but cannot be lost by the interrup-
‘tion. The *Spaniards*, therefore, can lose nothing
‘by the continuance of the war, but what we take
‘from them; whereas, we may be undone by a
‘long continuance, even though we should be
‘successful against the enemy. It is therefore our
‘business to take every method that can be
‘thought of, for bringing the war to a speedy, as
‘well as honourable conclusion; and, in the mean
‘time, to take as much care as possible, to prevent
‘our trade’s being interrupted by the enemy’s pri-
‘vateers.

‘For preventing the interruption of our trade,
‘nothing can be more effectual than that of en-
‘couraging our seamen, by a pecuniary reward,
‘to be diligent in looking out for, and alert in
‘attacking

‘ attacking the enemy’s privateers, wherever they
‘ can be met with; and as the enemy must have
‘ their treasure brought from the *West-Indies* to
‘ *Spain* in straggling ships, for they cannot have it
‘ in fleets or squadrons, one of the best ways we
‘ can take for distressing them, and thereby com-
‘ pelling them to agree to reasonable terms, will
‘ be, to intercept and take as many of these ships
‘ as we can. What can be more effectual for en-
‘ couraging our seamen to be diligent in cruising,
‘ and looking out for these ships, than that of
‘ assuring them, by act of Parliament, that all they
‘ take shall be their own?

‘ But, Sir, as this will not of itself be effectual
‘ enough for forcing *Spain* to a speedy compliance,
‘ and as it is incumbent upon us to think of gain-
‘ ing some national advantage by the war, in order
‘ to compensate the great expence the nation must
‘ be put to in carrying it on; and moreover, as no
‘ such advantage can be gained, but by attacking
‘ and possessing ourselves of some of the *Spanish*
‘ settlements in *America*; we ought to think be-
‘ times of carrying such projects into execution.
‘ I do not say, that we ought to think of conquer-
‘ ing and holding the whole *Spanish America*; but,
‘ if we should take possession of the whole, or
‘ greatest part, which, I believe, is far from being
‘ impossible, we might pretend to hold it till the
‘ court of *Spain* agreed to give us satisfaction for
‘ all past injuries, and security against all future.
‘ Nay, we ought to insist upon keeping possession
‘ of some parts of the *West-Indies*, and upon ha-
‘ ving the absolute property of them yielded to us,
‘ not only as a compensation for the expence we
‘ have been, and may be at, but as a security for
‘ our trade in time to come.

‘ This, in my opinion, Sir, is the only effectual
‘ method for putting a speedy end to the war.
‘ As long as we keep to a naval war only, the

‘ *Spaniards* can be no great sufferers by it: On the
 ‘ contrary, I believe, they will always be gainers,
 ‘ let us take what care we will; and therefore, I
 ‘ am convinced, we shall never be able, by such a
 ‘ war, to force them into reasonable terms. But
 ‘ if we should once turn them out of the whole,
 ‘ or a great part of their possessions in *America*,
 ‘ they would then immediately submit to any
 ‘ terms we should propose, in order to have that
 ‘ possession restored. If we have a mind, there-
 ‘ fore, to bring the war to a speedy conclusion, we
 ‘ ought directly to take the proper measures for
 ‘ getting possession of some of their settlements in
 ‘ *America*. I am sorry to find that no such mea-
 ‘ sures were concerted before we began hostilities
 ‘ against them; for, by the execution of such mea-
 ‘ sures, we ought, in good policy, to have opened
 ‘ the war. It is by this means alone, we can force
 ‘ them to a speedy and honourable peace: It is by
 ‘ this means alone, we can procure any security
 ‘ for our trade in time to come; and, it is by this
 ‘ means alone, we can propose to get any com-
 ‘ pensation for the expence we must be at, in the
 ‘ prosecution of the war.

‘ If this be the case, Sir, and that it is, must,
 ‘ I think, appear evident to every gentleman that
 ‘ considers the circumstances of the two nations,
 ‘ ought we not to encourage private men to assist
 ‘ the publick, by endeavouring to make conquests
 ‘ upon the *Spaniards* in *America*? Would it not be
 ‘ of great service to any publick expedition we
 ‘ may undertake, to have a set of private adven-
 ‘ turers attacking the enemy in one place, whilst
 ‘ his Majesty’s squadrons and armies were attack-
 ‘ ing them in another? Does not this shew the
 ‘ expediency of reviving that law which was made
 ‘ in the late Queen’s time, for encouraging private
 ‘ adventurers to attack and make conquests upon
 ‘ the enemy in the *West-Indies*? It had then no
 ‘ great

‘ great effect, because people that had money,
‘ made so much of it, by turning it in the publick
‘ funds, that no man thought of turning his mo-
‘ ney to any other use; but as that trade is now,
‘ thank God! not near so gainful as it was then,
‘ if this law be revived, the war prosecuted with
‘ vigour by the publick, and our councils directed
‘ by those upon whom the people may depend, I
‘ am convinced, the law will now have a much
‘ better effect. We have all the reason in the world
‘ to expect, that private adventurers will unite for
‘ making conquests upon the enemy, if they be
‘ convinced, that we are serious in carrying on the
‘ war, and that after they have been at a great ex-
‘ pence, they shall not be prevented in their at-
‘ tempts, by an unseasonable suspension of arms,
‘ nor their conquests sacrificed by a dishonourable
‘ convention.

‘ We may remember, Sir, that soon after the
‘ Revolution, there was a corporation established in
‘ the northern part of this island, for making a set-
‘ tlement in a part of *America*, which the *Spaniards*
‘ pretend to belong to them, though they never
‘ had, nor have now, the least right or title to it.
‘ That corporation did accordingly make their de-
‘ signed settlement, after having made a fair pur-
‘ chase, and got a good title from the natives to
‘ whom it belong’d; and, I believe, they would
‘ have kept possession in spite of the *Spaniards*, if
‘ a very preposterous sort of jealousy and envy
‘ had not, at that time, possessed us in this king-
‘ dom. Whilst the two crowns were disunited,
‘ I do not wonder that there was a mutual jealousy
‘ between the southern and northern parts of this
‘ island; but, after the two crowns came to be u-
‘ nited, I cannot comprehend, how a disunion and
‘ jealousy still subsisted between the two nations.
‘ It is surprizing, that after the union of the two
‘ crowns, the two nations should have continued

‘ so long disunited. Two nations inhabiting the
 ‘ same spot of earth, and that spot distinct and
 ‘ separated from all other parts of the earth,
 ‘ ought surely to have united, and to have re-
 ‘ moved all sorts of jealousy, as soon as possible ;
 ‘ in order that the northern might not be left as a
 ‘ back door, for making an invasion upon the
 ‘ southern ; and yet, I do not know how, that
 ‘ jealousy remained for some time after the Revo-
 ‘ lution, and was the cause of defeating that pro-
 ‘ ject, which would now have been of great ad-
 ‘ vantage to the whole island. If the bill I have
 ‘ proposed, should pass into a law, that society
 ‘ may again revive, and may be encouraged to
 ‘ go and take possession of what belongs to them.
 ‘ I am convinced, they would now be powerfully
 ‘ assisted by the people in this part of the island ;
 ‘ and, I hope, our government would likewise
 ‘ give them all proper encouragement and as-
 ‘ sistance.

‘ From what I have said, Sir, I hope, it ap-
 ‘ pears, that the bill I have proposed to be
 ‘ brought in, must contribute greatly towards a
 ‘ vigorous prosecution of the present war, and
 ‘ consequently towards procuring us a speedy, an
 ‘ honourable, and an advantageous peace. This
 ‘ was the reason, that induced me to move for its
 ‘ being brought in ; and my reason for making
 ‘ this motion so early, proceeded from the great
 ‘ distress we are in, for want of seamen, and the
 ‘ unwillingness they generally shew, to enter into
 ‘ his Majesty’s service. That we are in a very
 ‘ great distress for want of seamen, will not, I
 ‘ believe, be denied even by those who have the
 ‘ honour to be employed in our administration ;
 ‘ for they would not, surely, have put such a
 ‘ stop to our trade, by pressing and embargoes, if
 ‘ a sufficient supply for his Majesty’s navy could
 ‘ have been got by any other means.

‘ This

‘ This distress, Sir, I think it no very difficult
‘ matter to account for. Our seamen have for
‘ these twenty years been not only neglected, but
‘ ill treated. They have been upon every occa-
‘ sion, and often without occasion, pressed and
‘ hawled like slaves, on board our men of war,
‘ without allowing them so much as the liberty
‘ of chusing which captain they would serve un-
‘ der. They have been discouraged from enter-
‘ ing into his Majesty’s service, by sending them
‘ upon expeditions, with such instructions, as
‘ sometimes exposed them to great dangers and
‘ hardships, and, at all times disabled them from
‘ gaining either riches or renown. They have
‘ been often dismissed, before their wages could
‘ answer the charge of fitting themselves out;
‘ and they have been dismissed at ports, from
‘ whence they had many miles to travel on foot,
‘ and perhaps without a penny in their pocket,
‘ before they could come at any place where they
‘ could expect to get into the merchant-service,
‘ or into any other business. These, and many
‘ other hardships put upon them, drove some
‘ into foreign service, made others leave the sea,
‘ and betake themselves to some employment at
‘ land, and discouraged all in general from breed-
‘ ing themselves, or their children, up to the sea-
‘ service. By this means, our national stock of
‘ seamen, if I may so express myself, has been
‘ greatly diminished, and those that remain, have
‘ been made to conceive such a distaste of his Ma-
‘ jesty’s service, that, we find, they often run
‘ the risk, even of death itself, rather than be
‘ forced into that service.

‘ From these causes, Sir, our present distress
‘ for want of seamen proceeds; and, as I think
‘ the bill intended by this motion, will be a great
‘ encouragement to seamen, and likewise to land-
‘ men, to enter into his Majesty’s sea-service, I
‘ : resolved

‘ resolved to move as soon as possible for its being
‘ brought in, because I was, and am still con-
‘ vinced, that the very motion for bringing in
‘ such a bill, if it be agreed to, will contribute
‘ not a little towards removing our present dis-
‘ tress; but, if it should be either refused or
‘ postponed, I shall be extremely sorry for having
‘ made it; for the refusing or postponing such a
‘ motion, at such a juncture, may be attended
‘ with the most fatal consequences. It will dispi-
‘ rit those seamen that are already in the service;
‘ it will prevent our seamen that are abroad from
‘ having any thoughts of returning home; and
‘ it may probably make some of those that are
‘ now at home, fly into foreign service, in order
‘ to prevent their being pressed into his Majesty’s
‘ service.

‘ Having thus, Sir, laid before you some of
‘ the chief reasons that induced me to make this
‘ motion, and to make it so early, I shall next
‘ beg leave to take notice of some of the objec-
‘ tions that have been made against it; and,
‘ I must say, I was a little surprized at the first
‘ that was made. As I was conscious of the in-
‘ nocence of my intentions, I could not but be
‘ surprized at my being accused of shewing a sort
‘ of disrespect to the crown, by moving for such
‘ a bill, without a previous message for that pur-
‘ pose from the crown. I am no minister, Sir, I
‘ have no share in any of his Majesty’s councils,
‘ and therefore, I cannot certainly know what
‘ may be agreeable to the crown; but as a coun-
‘ try gentleman, and a member of this house, I
‘ supposed, that a bill for promoting the service
‘ of the crown, could not but be agreeable to the
‘ crown; and I could not suppose, that in such a
‘ case, it was necessary to wait for a message;
‘ especially, when I considered, that bills of the
‘ same nature had before been brought in and
‘ passed

‘ passed into laws, without any previous message
‘ from the crown. Nay, the very bill now in-
‘ tended was brought in two years ago without
‘ any such message, and not the least complaint
‘ made against it, on that account. The offering
‘ of such a bill, at that time, might, perhaps,
‘ by some be thought premature; but now it
‘ must be agreeable to every one who wishes to
‘ see the present war vigorously prosecuted, and
‘ honourably and speedily concluded; and for
‘ this reason, I am sure, it will be agreeable to
‘ his Majesty, if the intention of the bill be ho-
‘ nestly and fairly represented to him, whatever
‘ it may be to some of those that have a much
‘ more free access to him than I have.

‘ So much I thought myself obliged to say,
‘ Sir, in my own vindication; and as this objec-
‘ tion has already been shewn to be nothing but a
‘ pretence, I have no occasion, I think, to take
‘ any farther notice of it. The other objections that
‘ have been made, are objections of a different
‘ nature: They are objections against the bill it-
‘ self, as well as against the motion; and were
‘ chiefly insisted on by the honourable gentleman
‘ that spoke last on the other side of the question.
‘ Those that spoke before him, insisted principally
‘ upon the unseasonableness of the motion; but
‘ he threw aside all disguise, and directed his
‘ whole artillery against the bill itself; and there-
‘ fore, I must add a little to what has been ex-
‘ tremely well said by my worthy friend that
‘ spoke last, by way of answer to his ob-
‘ jections.

‘ The honourable gentleman endeavoured, Sir,
‘ to shew a difference between our present circum-
‘ stances, and the circumstances we were in, when
‘ such a bill as this was passed in the late Queen’s
‘ time. Does he think, that, if the grievances
‘ which were afterwards felt, had been foreseen

‘ at the beginning of that war, those bills would
‘ not have been brought in, and passed the very
‘ next session after that war broke out? The in-
‘ conveniencies he has mentioned, would not, I
‘ am sure, have been thought of any weight by
‘ that administration, whatever they may be by
‘ this. The difficulty about goods put on board
‘ an enemy’s ship before the declaration of war,
‘ or within the time limited by treaties, has alrea-
‘ dy been fully answered; and, as to the diffi-
‘ culty about insurance, I believe, all the *Spanish*
‘ ships, upon which any insurance was made be-
‘ fore the end of *May* last, are now arrived at
‘ their designed ports. If the insurance was made
‘ since that time, the insurer ought to suffer; be-
‘ cause it was then evident that there would be a
‘ breach between us and *Spain*; but, in order to
‘ remove this difficulty, and to gain the ho-
‘ nourable gentleman’s approbation of what I
‘ propose, which, I believe, is extremely ne-
‘ cessary for securing its success, I shall be ready
‘ to agree, that the bill shall not commence or be-
‘ gin to take effect, till so many weeks, in *Eu-*
‘ *rope*, and so many months, in *America*, after
‘ his Majesty’s declaration of war, as are stipu-
‘ lated by treaties between us, and any of our
‘ friends, or allies.

‘ As for our merchants, Sir, that suffered by
‘ the *Spanish* depredations in time of peace, I
‘ wish we had shewn a proper compassion for
‘ them several years ago: If we had, I am sure
‘ they would not have suffered so much; and
‘ they might probably have got full satisfaction
‘ before this time. But, when we are thinking
‘ of shewing compassion for those that have suf-
‘ fered by our peaceable measures, we ought to
‘ think of shewing compassion for our merchants
‘ and trade in general, which must suffer, and
‘ may be undone by a long continuance of the
‘ war.

‘ war. If we do this, we shall think of nothing
‘ but of putting a speedy and honourable end to
‘ the war. This ought to be our principal aim,
‘ and if we allow ourselves to be diverted from
‘ this, by a regard for any thing else, we may
‘ probably find ourselves disappointed of both,
‘ which in the end will be a much greater loss,
‘ even to our suffering merchants, than the ad-
‘ vantage they can reap, by having a share of
‘ such prizes as may be taken during the war.
‘ And as to our land-holders, or any other set of
‘ men in the kingdom, that may be relieved by
‘ applying a part of the prizes towards defraying
‘ the expence of the war, if the honourable gen-
‘ tleman has a real concern for their relief, and
‘ for relieving them in such a way as may not in-
‘ terrupt our prosecution of the war, he should
‘ agree to this bill; because it may be the cause
‘ of the war’s being carried on principally at the
‘ expence of private men. It is remark’d by all
‘ historians, as a piece of good conduct in Queen
‘ *Elizabeth*, that she often got her war against
‘ *Spain* carried on at the expence of private ad-
‘ venturers, who did infinite mischief to the ene-
‘ my, without putting that wise Queen to any
‘ other expence, than that of lending them a few
‘ of her ships of war. But I question much
‘ if this example will be followed in the present
‘ war; for some people are so fond of touching
‘ publick money, that they are, I believe, afraid
‘ lest any money should now be laid out in the
‘ prosecution of the war, that does not pass
‘ through their fingers.

‘ I believe, no man will doubt of my rejoicing
‘ in the success we have already had in the war;
‘ but, I must observe, Sir, that if it had been
‘ begun as it was, either in Queen *Elizabeth*’s or
‘ *Oliver Cromwell*’s time, our success might pro-
‘ bably have been much greater. We might
‘ have

‘ have been, by this time, in possession of some of
‘ the enemy’s provinces, as well as some of their
‘ ships; and, if proper care had been taken, I
‘ am sure, they could not have been in possession
‘ of so many of our merchant-ships as they are;
‘ for notwithstanding the success we have had,
‘ I believe, they are pretty equal with us upon
‘ the balance, at least in the seas of *Europe*,
‘ whatever they may be in those of *America*; for,
‘ as that part of the world is not so immediately
‘ under the influence of our domestick councils,
‘ I do not know but that the war may be carried
‘ on with a little more vigour. But, whatever
‘ prizes we may meet with, either in the seas of
‘ *Europe* or *America*, I should be for giving the
‘ whole to the captors, let it be of what value it
‘ will. Whoever has it, it will be so much taken
‘ from the enemy, and added to the wealth of
‘ this nation; for, whatever belongs to private
‘ men, belongs to, and may be reckoned a part
‘ of the publick stock of the nation. If it be di-
‘ vided among our seamen, it will soon circulate,
‘ and if considerable, may contribute to reduce
‘ the interest of money, which will be an advan-
‘ tage to our trade in general, and to every pri-
‘ vate man in particular, except usurers and pawn-
‘ brokers. Suppose some of our seamen should,
‘ by a rich prize, get great fortunes, and should
‘ take such care of what they get, (which is sel-
‘ dom the case) as to prevent their going to sea
‘ any more: Instead of diminishing, it would in-
‘ crease our number of seamen; for, if we should
‘ lose two or three hundred seamen, by such a
‘ lucky accident, their good fortune would send
‘ ten thousand to sea in their room; so that the
‘ nation can no way suffer by giving the whole of
‘ every prize to the captors, and it will contribute
‘ a great deal towards a vigorous prosecution of
‘ the war.

‘ However,

‘ However, Sir, as I am willing to gain, at
‘ any reasonable rate, the honourable gentleman’s
‘ approbation to a bill, which I think so necessary
‘ in our present circumstances, if he thinks it too
‘ much, to give the whole of a galleon or register-
‘ ship to the captors, we may easily guard against
‘ this inconvenience, by excepting such ships out
‘ of the bill, which I shall, for the sake of
‘ having his concurrence, agree to; though I
‘ think it not quite so right, because, I am afraid,
‘ it may be the cause of some of those ships
‘ escaping, when they might otherwise have fallen
‘ into our hands; which will be a double loss to
‘ us, by preventing our adding to our own
‘ wealth, and by adding to the wealth of our
‘ enemies, whereby they will be enabled to con-
‘ tinue the war longer, or to prosecute it with
‘ more vigour against us.

‘ I shall readily grant, Sir, that notwithstand-
‘ ing the best measures we can concert, and the
‘ utmost care we can take, many of the enemy’s
‘ ships may escape us, by various accidents at sea;
‘ but this, in my opinion, ought to be an argu-
‘ ment for our giving the greater encouragement
‘ to our ships of war, to be diligent in cruising,
‘ and watchful in looking out for them; and
‘ therefore, I think, our giving the whole of
‘ every prize that shall be taken, as an encourage-
‘ ment, to the captors, is the best use that can be
‘ made of those prizes we may have the good
‘ luck to meet with. To this I must add, Sir,
‘ that this uncertainty of meeting with their ships
‘ at sea, ought likewise to be an argument for our
‘ resolving to attack them at land, as well as sea;
‘ and, that therefore, in order to save the pub-
‘ lick expence as much as possible, we ought to
‘ encourage private adventurers, to attack and
‘ make conquests upon them at land. So that
‘ this uncertainty, instead of being an argument
‘ against

‘ against the bill, is in every respect an argument
‘ in its favour.

‘ Thus, Sir, I hope, I have fully answered
‘ every objection against the bill, that was not be-
‘ fore sufficiently removed by other gentlemen
‘ who have spoke in this debate: I hope, I have
‘ shewn, that the objections are either of no
‘ weight, or such as do not in the least affect the
‘ motion, because they may be effectually re-
‘ moved by proper clauses and expressions in the
‘ drawing up of the bill, or by proper amend-
‘ ments after it is drawn up; and therefore, if a
‘ negative should be put upon this motion, I shall
‘ look upon it, I believe most men will look upon
‘ it, as a most terrible omen, with respect to our
‘ future conduct in this just and necessary war.
‘ With most people without doors, it will be a
‘ confirmation of what his Majesty has been plea-
‘ fed to tell us, in his speech from the throne.
‘ They will from thence conclude, that his Maje-
‘ sty has secret enemies, not only at home, but
‘ in his own councils; and, I wish the obstinacy
‘ of *Spain*, and the conduct she has of late years
‘ dared to hold towards us, may not be more
‘ owing to this, than to those divisions and ani-
‘ mosities that subsisted amongst us before the
‘ war broke out; for, as those divisions and ani-
‘ mosities were entirely owing to some of our
‘ people’s shewing too great a fondness for peace,
‘ she could from thence expect no advantage after
‘ a declaration of war, unless she had reason to
‘ believe, that those very people would betray us
‘ into an imprudent, pusillanimous, and destruc-
‘ tive method of prosecuting the war, in order to
‘ justify, by our misfortunes and want of success
‘ in war, the fondness they had before shewn for
‘ an infamous and ruinous peace.’

The question being at last put, the motion was
agreed to without a division.

Wednesday,

Wednesday, November 21, Sir William Wyndham stood up, and spoke to the following effect.

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, The motion I have in my hand is of so
‘ great importance to the honour of his Majesty,
‘ to the dignity of this house, and to the interests
‘ of this nation, that I believe I shall be easily ex-
‘ cused for taking this opportunity, without any
‘ previous notice to the house, of bringing it in. I
‘ own, Sir, I cannot, without some little vanity,
‘ reflect that I have the honour to be the author of
‘ a motion, which, if agreed to, as doubtless it
‘ will, must retrieve the glory of this nation from
‘ all the infamy and disgrace, with which a long
‘ train of weak unsuccessful negotiations, incon-
‘ sistent treaties, and ridiculous expeditions, have
‘ clouded it. In one word, Sir, it is a motion that
‘ must have that effect, because it will put it out
‘ of the power of those who have been the au-
‘ thors of so much dishonour and disgrace to this
‘ nation, any longer to make so bad a use of their
‘ influence. But, Sir, as the motion is of an un-
‘ usual nature, I think it my duty to make the
‘ necessity and expediency of it as clear to the
‘ house as it is possible.

Sir William Wyndham's speech and motion for giving his Majesty the advice of Parliament.

‘ I believe, Sir, there is scarce any body at pre-
‘ sent so little acquainted with publick affairs, as
‘ not to be sensible that we are now involv'd in a
‘ war, because those who have had the manage-
‘ ment of the national affairs for these twenty years
‘ past have not known how to make peace. If
‘ they had, 'tis impossible that the terms and limits
‘ of the *British* trade should have remained unde-
‘ termined; at least, that branch of the *West-India*
‘ trade, which supports and feeds all the others.
‘ But for want of knowledge in the true interest of
‘ their country, the first step to ministerial reputa-
‘ tion,

‘ tion, we have been negotiated into an unnecessary
‘ but expensive war.

‘ Where there is a visible advantage in protract-
‘ ing a peace, or delaying a war, which is often
‘ the case, an administration, Sir, would be blame-
‘ able, if, from an ill-tim’d precipitancy, they
‘ should hazard that by a doubtful war, which
‘ they have a moral assurance of obtaining by an
‘ honourable peace. This, Sir, is the sum of all
‘ that can be advanced for our late pacifick, I may
‘ say, pusillanimous dispositions. But, Sir, a very
‘ short review of the affairs of this nation will be
‘ sufficient to convince gentlemen, that, by delay-
‘ ing the demands of satisfaction, we increased the
‘ difficulty of obtaining it.

‘ I am very unwilling, Sir, to trouble the house
‘ with any thing that has been said before on this
‘ subject, and therefore shall avoid it as much as
‘ possible. But as the nature of the motion, I
‘ have in my hand, requires some short review of
‘ the history of our differences with *Spain*; as such
‘ a review may, perhaps, conduce to the informa-
‘ tion of those who may be intrusted with the
‘ conduct of future negotiations, and as I have
‘ not the honour to be entitled to deliver my sen-
‘ timents on this head in another place, I hope to
‘ meet with the indulgence of the house.

‘ The great point, Sir, that from the beginning
‘ of our differences with *Spain* (which, I think,
‘ may be traced back as far as the fifth year of his
‘ late Majesty’s reign) was insisted upon by this
‘ nation, was “ an absolute renunciation, on the
‘ part of that crown, of all claim to stop or search
‘ the ships of this nation on the high seas.” The
‘ justice and necessity of our obtaining such a re-
‘ nunciation, was so fully laid down by my ho-
‘ nourable friend, over the way, two sessions ago,
‘ that I shall say nothing on that head, because I
‘ can say nothing that he did not say much better
‘ before.

‘ before. All I would observe is, that this great
‘ point seems to have been either entirely unknown,
‘ or wilfully neglected, by those who have trans-
‘ acted our affairs with that crown. The claim,
‘ Sir, of searching our ships, under pretence of
‘ their carrying on an illicit trade with the *Spanish*
‘ settlements, has been but very lately avowed by
‘ that court. But the practice is of so long stand-
‘ ing as King *Charles II.* The *Spaniards*, how-
‘ ever, in that Prince’s time, paid very dear for
‘ those few instances of injustice and oppression
‘ then committed; but which our long forbearance
‘ under them since seems to have given them al-
‘ most a title to the practice of. In the minority
‘ of one of their Princes, the interests of *Spain*
‘ were so far misunderstood by a violent but weak
‘ woman, who was then Regent, that she issued
‘ out several schedulas, authorizing the subjects of
‘ *Spain* in *America* to make prizes of our ships
‘ which should be found within such distances of
‘ their settlements. But we soon found means of
‘ making them repent this step, for our merchants
‘ made reprizals at their own charge; the *Spaniards*
‘ concerned in these captures were treated as pi-
‘ rates, and, without putting the publick to the
‘ least expence, that crown was forced into a good
‘ behaviour: The schedulas were recalled, and if I
‘ am not mistaken, some of their governors were
‘ punished, and we carried on that trade to a de-
‘ gree, that, in a short time, made us as much the
‘ subject of the envy of *Europe* as we are now of
‘ its contempt.

‘ I have heard it asked, Sir, even within these
‘ two years, in this very house (I don’t know if
‘ the same objection was not made in another place)
‘ If the *Spaniards* had no right on any account to
‘ search our ships in those seas, why did we not,
‘ at that time, oblige them to renounce that claim?
‘ And it was inferred, That our not doing it then,

‘ or since, was a proof that we looked upon it as
 ‘ justly founded. Sir, I will not pretend to apo-
 ‘ logize for every measure of that reign; but I be-
 ‘ lieve it will be found, that there were many rea-
 ‘ sons, and those strong ones too, which might
 ‘ prevail with our court, at that time, not to insist
 ‘ on such a renunciation. In the first place, Sir,
 ‘ till the 18th of King *Charles II.* there was one
 ‘ continued struggle betwixt our court and that of
 ‘ *Spain*, for opening the *Spanish* ports in *America*
 ‘ to a free trade with this nation. I cannot, Sir,
 ‘ bring a stronger proof of this, than by an extract
 ‘ which I have in my hand from the instructions
 ‘ delivered by our court to Sir *Richard Fanshawe*,
 ‘ sent from hence to negotiate a treaty of commerce
 ‘ with *Spain*. I shall, Sir, take the liberty to read
 ‘ to the house part of the twelfth, and part of the
 ‘ fifteenth instruction.

‘ Part of the twelfth instruction runs in the fol-
 ‘ lowing words: “ That it will likewise be neces-
 ‘ sary, that our subjects may discern that our en-
 ‘ gagement for that crown will be attended with
 ‘ some general benefit and advantage to trade, in
 ‘ lieu of what they shall be deprived of by such
 ‘ our engagement; and therefore you shall require,
 ‘ that we may have a free trade into the *Indies*, at
 ‘ least for such a number of ships as shall be agreed
 ‘ on; in consideration of which liberty we will be
 ‘ obliged, at seasons of the year to be agreed on,
 ‘ to deliver such a number of negroes at set prizes;
 ‘ and will likewise be obliged, in our own ships,
 ‘ to deliver, in any port of *Spain*, their plate or
 ‘ our cargoes, in such a manner as shall be adjust-
 ‘ ed; And without such liberty aforesaid, of a free
 ‘ trade and commerce into those dominions of his
 ‘ Catholick Majesty, you do conclude, there can
 ‘ never be a stricter alliance between us and *Spain*
 ‘ than hath been accustom’d to preserve the mu-
 ‘ tual

“ tual traffick and commerce between the two na-
“ tions.”

‘ Part of the fifteenth article of that gentleman’s
‘ instructions, Sir, runs thus: “ With this and
“ other occasions, resuming the discourse of the
“ disadvantages under which they lie in their
“ commerce to the *West-Indies* by the weakness of
“ their maritime power, and the necessity incum-
“ bent on them to provide, betimes, for some se-
“ curities towards that navigation, lest the want of
“ them, in some of those accidents which now
“ threaten the monarchy of *Spain*, should oblige
“ those of the *West-Indies* to open their ports
“ themselves to all nations: Whereas that liberty
“ being treated by consent with us, and indulged
“ to us alone, (though it were but for a certain
“ number of ships) their own rules in that govern-
“ ment might remain entire; and we support it
“ with advantage enough to ourselves, in a state
“ to preserve the whole monarchy upon its own
“ foundation; whereas without it, any of those
“ accidents happening, it must in all probability
“ dissolve.”

‘ These authorities, Sir, I think are sufficient to
‘ prove, that our court at that time did not think
‘ the exclusion of all other nations from a right to
‘ trade with the *Spanish* settlements absolutely ne-
‘ cessary to the repose of *Europe*; a doctrine, Sir,
‘ that of late has been very much insisted on, for
‘ what purposes ’tis no hard matter to judge. But,
‘ Sir, the principal use I intend to make of these
‘ passages is, to account for the reasons why we
‘ did not insist on a renunciation of their right to
‘ search our ships. Such a renunciation, Sir, while
‘ we entertain’d any hopes of our having a free
‘ trade allowed us to their settlements (which, ’tis
‘ plain, our ambassador was to have principally in
‘ view) must have been unjust and unreasonable,
‘ because contrary to the right which every Sove-

‘ reign has to prevent all illicit trade betwixt his
‘ own subjects and those of a foreign power, when
‘ a trade is free. For, give me leave to say, Sir,
‘ that no trade is so free, at least none in *Europe*
‘ that I know of, betwixt any two powers, but that
‘ some certain commodities are specifically excepted,
‘ both from exportation and importation. This,
‘ Sir, necessarily implies a mutual right to search.
‘ But as in the case betwixt us and *Spain*, there
‘ can be no object of search, because all trade is
‘ prohibited; where there is no object of search,
‘ there can be no right to stop and molest our mer-
‘ chants under pretence of searching.

‘ From these considerations, Sir, I think it suf-
‘ ficiently appears, that while we were in hopes of
‘ obtaining a liberty to trade with the *Spanish In-*
‘ *dies*, we could not insist on any such renuncia-
‘ tion: But why was it not insisted on afterwards,
‘ when this mutual prohibition was stipulated, as
‘ it was by the treaty of the 18th of King *Charles*
‘ *II.* and the *American* treaty? This, Sir, may be
‘ easily accounted for too. Our court, which at
‘ that time was still standing in need of money,
‘ found it their interest to wink at the *Spanish* de-
‘ predations, because it gave us a handle of making
‘ such reprizals upon the *Spaniards*, as this crown
‘ found the sweets of. For it appears, Sir, that
‘ our court privately connived at our governors
‘ abroad, and shared in the booty. The governors,
‘ on the other hand, Sir, made so good use of that
‘ connivance, that at one particular juncture their
‘ reprizals on the *Spanish* settlements arose to such
‘ a height as almost to make it a national quarrel
‘ betwixt us and *France*. Besides, Sir, the depre-
‘ dations committed by *Spain* at that time were
‘ but petty ones, there were not above half a do-
‘ zen instances in all, and the greatest of theirs not
‘ to be compared with the smallest of the many
‘ which

‘ which our merchants have proved at the bar of
‘ this house.

‘ Having said thus much, Sir, I shall not trouble
‘ the house with a particular detail of our affairs
‘ with *Spain* in the three following reigns. Some-
‘ thing, however, it may not be amiss to observe
‘ on that head. In the reigns of King *James* and
‘ King *William*, we find few or no instances of the
‘ *Spaniards* seizing our ships in time of peace; and
‘ this last Prince, Sir, had it always in view either
‘ to make us masters of a large part of the *Spanish*
‘ dominions in *America*, or to oblige the possessor,
‘ whoever he was, to allow us a free trade with
‘ their settlements. This, Sir, he might certainly
‘ have obtain’d, had the partition treaty taken ef-
‘ fect: But, Sir, the ambitious views of *France*,
‘ which then threatened the repose of *Europe*, and
‘ his ruling passion to reduce her power, made
‘ *Spain* a necessary ally to him. For this reason,
‘ and by the caution which *Spain* took to avoid
‘ what might give offence to our court, there was
‘ no express regulation made with regard to the
‘ mutual interests of the two crowns in point of
‘ commerce, during his reign. Every body knows
‘ what happen’d afterwards, and that the *Spanish*
‘ *Indies* have since continued in the hands of the
‘ present Prince, with whom we were at open war
‘ for about thirteen years, and therefore during
‘ that time there was no room for treaty.

‘ Gentlemen, Sir, will not, I believe, be very
‘ forward in justifying the peace of *Utrecht*, and
‘ therefore if such a renunciation as I am speaking
‘ of was not at that time obtained, it will not, I
‘ hope, be brought as an argument why it ought
‘ not to have been obtained since. But really, Sir,
‘ bad as that treaty is represented to be, our interest
‘ in the *European* trade was by no means entirely
‘ overlooked by it; for the *American* treaty, Sir,
‘ is therein confirmed, which is more than has been

done in some treaties made since by those who have been loudest in their censures. Here, Sir, give me leave to make one general observation in defence of those who made that treaty; That it being impossible to foresee that the *Spaniards* would seize our ships in time of peace, the negotiators perhaps judged very right, that the confirmation of the *American* treaty was a sufficient security to our trade in *America*. Give me leave to say, Sir, that treaty, rightly understood, would secure it. Nothing could have made our insisting on a renunciation necessary, or indeed so much as expedient, but repeated proofs on the part of *Spain*, that she thought herself entitled by that treaty to stop and to search our ships, a practice which she had not then pretended to avow.

There was no necessity therefore of requiring her to renounce what she had never claimed; but as she has now claimed this right for many years, insisted on her claim with the utmost degree of insolence, and prosecuted it not only with the violence of war, but with cruelties to which even war is a stranger, it is now just and necessary that she should be obliged to renounce it. After the treaty of the 9th of his late Majesty, the *Spanish* depredations in *America* may be properly said to have commenced. But what was our method of negotiation, Sir? We did not at once deny the claims of the *Spaniards*. We did not tell them, You have no right upon any account to stop the ships of this nation on the high seas: You have no right to search them, to seize them, or to confiscate them. No, Sir, we admitted their right in every one of these respects; we admitted it, Sir, by the very manner in which we treated; we admitted it by allowing the legality of these captures to be examined; we admitted it by suffering the court of *Spain* to pronounce that this ship is a lawfuller capture than
the

‘ the other was, because this ship was taken in
‘ such a latitude; this ship was laden with such
‘ and such commodities. It was in this manner,
‘ Sir, that our rights were negotiated away, for
‘ the consequence of our treating in that manner
‘ was, that a great deal of time was taken up in
‘ enquiring into facts which ought to have been
‘ cut off by this one sentence on our part; “ We
‘ admit of every thing you say to be true, yet
‘ these captures are illegal.” This, Sir, would
‘ have put it upon a short issue; we must then
‘ have fallen upon enquiring, not into the intricacies of disputed facts, but into the truth of a plain obvious maxim, Sir, which if the *Spaniards* had denied, they must have likewise denied our right to a freedom of navigation. If they admitted it, Sir, they must have admitted all that could secure it.

‘ But not only debates and negotiations, Sir, but treaties themselves have, I am afraid, contributed not a little to making the *Spaniards* imagine, that they had a right in such and such circumstances to stop and seize our ships. The treaty of *Seville*, Sir, refers to the decision of commissaries, all the disputed captures betwixt us and *Spain*. This, Sir, was going a length which we ought certainly to have avoided; because, as I observed before, it placed the affair in dispute betwixt us upon a false supposition. It gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity of disputing and wrangling about every fact, and to protract the negotiations of the commissaries till their point which they had in view in that treaty was gained, then they renewed their depredations, and laugh’d at us.

‘ Sir, I say nothing upon this head, in which I am not warranted by positive facts asserted in the papers lying upon your table. There, Sir, we see remonstrances, and memorials, given by
‘ your

‘ your ministers to the court of *Spain*, upon the
 ‘ subject of depredations, but not a single word
 ‘ in them all of what ought to have been the
 ‘ chief, and even the only subject of them, an
 ‘ absolute denial of all right claimed by the *Spaniards*
 ‘ to search, except in their ports and har-
 ‘ bours. Even the decision of our differences by
 ‘ commissaries, which commissaries were to reside
 ‘ at *Madrid*, and the reference of the claims of
 ‘ our merchants to their discussion, was at least
 ‘ adding a great hardship to their former losses
 ‘ and sufferings, since it oblig’d them to a very
 ‘ expensive, troublesome, and fruitless method of
 ‘ solicitation: A method of which the inconve-
 ‘ niencies were rightly foreseen, and plainly fore-
 ‘ told in the protests of the other house, and
 ‘ which from the beginning had no prospect of
 ‘ better success.

‘ But, Sir, to come nearer to the point: I
 ‘ should be glad if any gentleman, who has a
 ‘ good opinion of that treaty, would tell us what
 ‘ benefit the interests of the nation could have
 ‘ received, even though our merchants had ob-
 ‘ tained full satisfaction at the court of *Madrid*,
 ‘ if the *Spaniards* still maintain their claim to
 ‘ search our ships. A few private merchants might
 ‘ have perhaps been relieved, but the nation in
 ‘ general must have suffered by admitting a claim,
 ‘ which in effect destroys the freedom of our na-
 ‘ vigation. The same principle, Sir, which in-
 ‘ duced us to make the *Spaniards* judges of the
 ‘ damages we were to receive, must have made
 ‘ us acquiesce if we had received none, or but ve-
 ‘ ry little; for in all references the parties are ob-
 ‘ liged to submit to the decision of the judges. It
 ‘ is true our commissaries were joined with those
 ‘ of *Spain*, but that we see did not mend the
 ‘ matter, for they could do nothing by them-
 ‘ selves, however willing, and it was the same
 ‘ thing

‘ thing to the sufferers, as if no commissaries from
‘ us had been there, nay much worse, because the
‘ nation was at a considerable expence in main-
‘ taining them to no purpose.

‘ Thus, Sir, I think it appears very plain, that
‘ the treaty of *Seville* gave us no prospect for
‘ ending the disputes betwixt us and *Spain* to our
‘ advantage, even supposing that *Spain* had punc-
‘ tually fulfilled all the engagements we entered
‘ into by that treaty; because the principal point,
‘ an absolute renunciation on the part of *Spain* to
‘ her claim of search, was neither granted nor de-
‘ manded. But our negotiators, Sir, may say
‘ for themselves, Where was the necessity of in-
‘ sisting upon the renunciation of a claim that ne-
‘ ver was made? The *Spaniards* did not claim
‘ any such right, why should they renounce it?
‘ I think, Sir, I have heard an honourable gen-
‘ tleman, over the way, say, that our obliging
‘ them to renounce it by the convention, would
‘ have been, in some measure, to have admitted
‘ it. I hope that I have said enough already to
‘ answer the former of these objections, and my
‘ honourable friend’s observation answers itself.
‘ But, Sir, I come now to a period wherein that
‘ claim was actually, in express terms, made by
‘ the *Spaniards*, in terms equally express refused
‘ by our minister, and yet afterwards admitted by
‘ that very minister, though directed, by the re-
‘ solutions of both houses of Parliament, not to
‘ admit it. This consideration alone, Sir, is suffi-
‘ cient to prove the expediency, nay the necessity
‘ of the motion I am to make.

‘ In the letter, Sir, from the *Spanish* minister
‘ to Mr. *Keene*, we find that court insisting posi-
‘ tively upon a right to search all ships which
‘ should be found to have without necessity (of
‘ which necessity the *Spaniards* are to judge)
‘ changed

‘ changed their course so as to approach any of
‘ the *Spanish* settlements.

‘ Here the claim, Sir, is fairly made, and our
‘ court, in a copy of a letter communicated to this
‘ house, as intended to be sent to Mr. *Keene*, who
‘ was to give it to the *Spanish* minister as the an-
‘ swer of his court to the Marquis *de la Quadra*’s
‘ letter, flatly denies it, and very rightly tells that
‘ court, that it was a claim unreasonable, even
‘ upon the supposition that the crown of *Spain*
‘ was possessed of the sovereignty of the *Ameri-*
‘ *can* seas; and never would be admitted by his
‘ *Britannick* Majesty. Sir, I don’t know whe-
‘ ther this letter ever was delivered to the court
‘ of *Spain*, but this house is to presume that it
‘ was; and if it was, by what means did it hap-
‘ pen that the convention was afterwards conclu-
‘ ded, in direct contradiction to all that is with
‘ so much reason asserted in it? For by the con-
‘ vention, the claim of the *Spaniards* right to
‘ search our ships is in reality admitted, as the de-
‘ cision of the legality of the captures is referred
‘ to the discussion of plenipotentiaries. Thus,
‘ Sir, we see an evident inconsistency in our ne-
‘ gotiations, which can be accounted for only by
‘ one of these suppositions: That in the inter-
‘ mediate time betwixt the delivery of the letter
‘ I have last mentioned, and the convention,
‘ they found means to persuade our minister of
‘ the reasonableness of their claim; or that our
‘ minister, to facilitate the conclusion of the con-
‘ vention, voluntarily withdrew the objections
‘ to it.

‘ I could, Sir, from many facts, made evi-
‘ dent by the papers upon your table, and from
‘ many instances proved at the bar of your house,
‘ shew that our ministers, whether from igno-
‘ rance or design I shall not say, have oftner than
‘ once admitted this claim. But I believe, what
‘ I

‘ I have already said on this head will be sufficient to convince gentlemen, that we never can obtain a peace with *Spain* that will satisfy this nation, without previously obtaining an absolute renunciation of all her claim to search our ships on the open seas. Such a renunciation must not admit of being debated on by the ministers of either court, or by any mediating power; it must be obtained previously to all other negotiations.

‘ I say, Sir, it must be previous to all negotiations about a peace, because this nation has often had melancholy proofs how much our neighbours are our superiors in all affairs of the cabinet. When our interests come to be negotiated, they are given up; the minute I hear of a difference that is to be amicably adjusted, or a measure that is to be deliberated betwixt us and other powers, I immediately conclude that we must suffer by the one, and be outwitted in the other. I am sorry to say, Sir, that I have not for twenty years past, once observed that I have been deceived in this observation; and the nation, Sir, has had so many repeated proofs of unsuccessful negotiations, that I tremble to think what may be the consequences, should they be revived. The war, Sir, we are now engaged in, cannot be prosecuted without an immense expence; an expence, Sir, that will require many and great advantages to repay. The conduct of this war, as far as we can hitherto judge, has not been such as to give either this nation, or the rest of *Europe*, entire satisfaction that we are in earnest; nor can I forbear to express my apprehensions, that while our counsels in time of war are directed by the same persons who negotiated our interests in time of peace, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to make either the one, or the other,
‘ be-

‘ believe that we are so. What must be the
‘ consequence of that, Sir, but to create dissa-
‘ tisfaction at home, and to make us fall into ut-
‘ ter contempt abroad ?

‘ But there is, Sir, yet a method by which we
‘ may retrieve the glory of the *British* name ; by
‘ which we may make his Majesty the Sovereign
‘ of a great and a glorious people ; and that is,
‘ by the Parliament’s interposing in the manage-
‘ ment of this war. We have long tried, Sir,
‘ what can be done by ministers ; let us now try
‘ what can be done by Parliaments. Let us be-
‘ gin with securing the great point about which I
‘ have taken up so much of your time. The
‘ effects of this conduct, Sir, will be great to the
‘ nation : It will stifle all suspicions that a secret
‘ negotiation is on foot, in which this great point
‘ is to be given up ; suspicions, which begin now
‘ to spread wide, to be entertained by great num-
‘ bers, and which may soon swell from whispers
‘ into clamours. It will give *Spain* to under-
‘ stand, that she has no longer those to deal with
‘ who gave her so many and so great advantages
‘ in the late negotiations, and that she is now de-
‘ prived of all manner of hopes to succeed by
‘ chicanery, sophistry, or ambiguous expressions.
‘ It will, Sir, have another effect, which is, that
‘ the rest of *Europe* will be convinced that our
‘ measures are now altered ; such of them as in-
‘ cline to be our enemies will take care how they
‘ engage rashly in the present quarrel ; and they,
‘ if there are any such, who are really our friends,
‘ will be encouraged to stand by us, and perhaps
‘ to join in forcing *Spain* to do us justice. There
‘ is indeed one, and but one, way by which the
‘ intention of the present motion can be defeated,
‘ and that is, by a weak pusillanimous manage-
‘ ment of the war. But the Parliament, Sir,
‘ may enquire into mismanagements ; if there
‘ shall

‘ shall be any in this war, they cannot be impu-
‘ ted to fortune, but to choice or ignorance, and
‘ whatever the event may be, it cannot be more
‘ ruinous than that of our negotiations. No
‘ peace, Sir, to which this is a preliminary, can
‘ be bad; and no peace by which it is given up,
‘ or left even doubtful, can be good. This, Sir,
‘ is our all, it is worthy the care of a *British* Par-
‘ liament, and a *British* Parliament, Sir, has a
‘ right to advise his Majesty, and to direct and
‘ controul a ministry, at least to punish them, if
‘ they should injure their country.

‘ I have but one thing more, Sir, to add,
‘ which is, that our agreeing to the motion I have
‘ in my hand will be very much to the honour of
‘ his Majesty, who, we are all sensible, will ne-
‘ ver put the advice of a minister into the ba-
‘ lance with that of a Parliament. Our agreeing
‘ to this motion, Sir, will prove that his Majesty
‘ is not, as former Kings have been, under any
‘ influence of his ministry, since the Parliament
‘ has now thought fit to interpose, and to take
‘ the management of this great affair, in some
‘ measure, out of the hands of the ministry.

‘ Give me leave, Sir, only to add one thing
‘ more: The motion I am now to make, is built
‘ upon the very words of his Majesty’s speech
‘ the first day of the session. In the very first
‘ sentence of that speech, Sir, we have his Ma-
‘ jesty telling us, that he has called us together
‘ sooner than has been usual of late years, that
‘ he might have the immediate advice and assis-
‘ tance of his Parliament at this critical and im-
‘ portant juncture. It is our duty, Sir, to ren-
‘ der our advice to the crown upon this declara-
‘ tion from the throne, and if any gentleman can
‘ think of any advice of greater importance than
‘ the motion I have in my hand, I shall readily
‘ agree to it. The motion I have to make, Sir, is,
‘ *That*

‘ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, as a dutiful return to his gracious desire of the advice of his Parliament at this critical and important conjuncture; and as a farther testimony of our firm resolution vigorously to support his Majesty in the prosecution of the war against Spain, humbly to beseech his Majesty never to admit of any treaty of peace with that crown, unless the acknowledgment of our natural and undoubted right to navigate in the American seas to and from any part of his Majesty’s dominions, without being seized, searched, visited, or stopped, under any pretence whatsoever, shall have been first obtained as a preliminary thereto.’

He was answered by Sir Robert Walpole, to the following effect:

Sir Robert
Walpole’s
speech.

‘ Sir, If the honourable gentleman knew with what indifference the motion, which he has taken so much pains to introduce, has been heard on this side of the house; if he knew with what willingness it will be agreed to, I believe by all present, he would not have given himself the trouble to recommend it so strongly as he has done. The honourable gentleman’s speech, Sir, wants nothing of an impeachment but the necessary forms; it has all the air of one, and, were the house convinced of the truth and justice of the facts he has advanced, it might, for ought I know, have all the effect.

‘ I will not affect, Sir, to say that I am unconcerned in the charge the honourable gentleman has thrown out; I know, Sir, that it is levelled at me, and that it is designed to render me unpopular. The honourable gentleman, at the same time, knows that this is a motion against which nothing can be objected, and that its coming from that quarter will give it an air as if
‘ it

‘ it was a thing disagreeable to the ministry, but
‘ that they were forced to let it pass, because they
‘ could not tell how to oppose it. And thus the
‘ party will have a fair opportunity of magnifying
‘ their own zeal without doors for the interests of
‘ the nation, and of boasting how artfully they
‘ have ensnared the minister. Had the minister,
‘ Sir, as much power and influence in this house,
‘ and as strong inclinations to a bad use of that
‘ power, as the honourable gentleman and his
‘ friends suppose him to have, the tendency of this
‘ motion, Sir, would be a sufficient inducement to
‘ him to throw it out. But attacks of that kind,
‘ Sir, are no new thing to me; and the honourable
‘ gentleman is mistaken if he imagines that I feel
‘ any pain from his motion. No, Sir; the attempt
‘ is rather to be despised than dreaded. There is
‘ nothing to be inferred from it, but that the ho-
‘ nourable gentleman and his friends have a mind
‘ to take a little diversion, and have singled me
‘ out as the deer for the sport of the day. But
‘ they may find, Sir, that I am not so easily hunt-
‘ ed down as they imagine. I have lived long
‘ enough in the world, Sir, to know that the safety
‘ of a minister lies in his having the approbation
‘ of this house. Former ministers, Sir, neglected
‘ this, and therefore they fell; I have always made
‘ it my first study to obtain it, and therefore I
‘ hope to stand.

‘ Having said thus much, Sir, which I could
‘ not avoid saying, considering the tendency of
‘ the honourable gentleman’s speech, I shall now
‘ spend a little time in exposing the arguments he
‘ made use of to introduce his motion. For,
‘ though I am not at all against the motion, yet
‘ the reasons upon which the honourable gentleman
‘ has founded it appear to me very insufficient. In
‘ the first place, Sir, he took great pains to mag-
‘ nify the importance of his motion. For my own

‘ part, Sir, I don’t think that it is of the least
‘ consequence whether we agree to it or not. My
‘ reason for saying so, Sir, is because there is no-
‘ thing in this motion which has not in effect been
‘ in every address you have made upon this sub-
‘ ject, and in every answer his Majesty has given
‘ to these addresses. In the resolutions you came
‘ to immediately after the merchants had been
‘ examined at the bar of this house, our right of
‘ a free navigation to and from our own colonies
‘ is as strongly asserted as words could express
‘ it. In his Majesty’s answer to your address on
‘ that occasion, he expressly gives you the very
‘ answer which we may expect to have upon this
‘ address. This is the substance of that address,
‘ and this our negotiators have in all their conduct
‘ with the court of *Spain* had principally in view.
‘ Give me leave, Sir, to ask of the honourable
‘ gentleman, or any of his friends, why we are
‘ now at war? Is it not because the *Spaniards* have
‘ presumed to set up a claim that we will not ad-
‘ mit? Is it not because we apprehend that their
‘ searching our ships is contrary to treaty, and
‘ that the losses our merchants have sustained have
‘ been injurious to the honour as well as interest of
‘ this nation? Has any single thing been advanced
‘ by the honourable gentleman, as it relates to this
‘ motion, which is not already said in the very
‘ declaration of war, which his friends have been
‘ often heard to approve of? Is one sentence of all
‘ he has said, that is not in the declaration of war,
‘ any thing to the present purpose?

‘ The honourable gentleman, Sir, took great
‘ pains to prove, that in the time of King *Charles*
‘ II. the *Spaniards* were very ill treated by our
‘ court; for that, Sir, is the sum of all he has
‘ said upon that head. I hope, Sir, we shall nei-
‘ ther follow the maxims, nor imitate the practices
‘ of that reign. There was, Sir, at the time which
‘ the

‘ the honourable gentleman mentioned, a perpetual
‘ juggle betwixt the court here and their governors
‘ abroad; the one play’d to the other’s hand, and
‘ the whole was no other than a mean combination
‘ to support and maintain a crew of pirates. The
‘ honourable gentleman is mistaken, if he thinks
‘ that the differences betwixt the two courts in
‘ that reign proceeded upon the same grounds they
‘ do now. At that time, Sir, our pirates, actually
‘ in time of peace, invaded and plunder’d the
‘ *Spanish* settlements; and that court very justly
‘ endeavoured to suppress them. At present, Sir,
‘ our differences are founded upon a right which
‘ we claim of sailing as near their coasts as we
‘ please, without being liable to be stopped or
‘ searched. Give me leave to say, Sir, that the
‘ honourable gentleman will never be able to pro-
‘ duce one instance before the present reign, of any
‘ complaint that ever was made on the part of
‘ *Great Britain* because the *Spaniards* stopped and
‘ search’d our ships on their coasts; and I will
‘ venture to say farther, Sir, that had it not been
‘ that the *Spaniards* made a bad use of that power,
‘ by confiscating those that were not concern’d in
‘ an illicit trade, we never should have heard it
‘ questioned. All that can be said, Sir, is that
‘ the danger of their confiscating without cause, is
‘ greater than the injustice of denying them a right
‘ to search when they have suspicions of an illicit
‘ trade. The resolutions, Sir, which both houses
‘ have already come to, go farther; there we see
‘ that not only to confiscate our ships is against
‘ treaties, and against the law of nations, but even
‘ to stop and search them, be the grounds of sus-
‘ picion that they are carrying on an illicit trade
‘ ever so strong. Therefore, Sir, the point of time
‘ from which our government was to begin their
‘ endeavours to bring *Spain* to renounce that claim,
‘ is after it was proved to the satisfaction of this

‘ house, that she had made a bad use of that right
 ‘ which she pretended to have. Sir, I will be bold
 ‘ to say, that this has been as much the care of our
 ‘ ministry since that time commenced, as it was
 ‘ possible in the circumstances we were in, by not
 ‘ having any other power in *Europe* to support us
 ‘ in our demands, though for the security of their
 ‘ trade they were equally interested with us, to in-
 ‘ sist upon such a renunciation. The honourable
 ‘ gentleman himself mentioned a strong proof of
 ‘ what I advance, in the letter transmitted from
 ‘ our court to Mr. *Keene*, to be given in by him as
 ‘ an answer to the letter of M. *de la Quadra*. The
 ‘ honourable gentleman endeavoured indeed to
 ‘ give a very odd turn to that letter. How comes
 ‘ it, said he, that this claim of the *Spaniards*, after
 ‘ it was so absolutely denied by our minister, was
 ‘ afterwards by the same minister admitted at the
 ‘ signing of the convention? Sir, I peremptorily
 ‘ assert it was not admitted of by the convention:
 ‘ By the convention indeed we referred to plenipo-
 ‘ tentiaries to decide the rights of our navigation,
 ‘ as settled by all the treaties subsisting betwixt us
 ‘ and *Spain*; and we acted very wisely in so doing;
 ‘ but by the convention we did not give up one
 ‘ right which we had claimed before, or have
 ‘ claimed since. Nay, Sir, it evidently appears
 ‘ that it never was the intention of the ministry
 ‘ to do so; because as soon as the plenipotentiaries
 ‘ had met, our minister demanded, in the strongest
 ‘ terms, the very thing which is contained in this
 ‘ motion. By his declaration then made, he insist-
 ‘ ed not upon the affair of the *South-Sea*, but upon
 ‘ this great point which the honourable gentleman
 ‘ has magnified so much. He insisted in his de-
 ‘ claration at *Madrid*, not only upon “ that Prince’s
 ‘ “ executing without farther delay the engagements
 ‘ “ he entered into by the convention, but likewise,
 ‘ “ that he should renounce the right he pretends to,
 ‘ “ of

“ of searching the *British* ships in the *American*
“ seas;” with this remarkable demand likewise,
“ That this renunciation shall be inserted in the
“ new treaty to be made betwixt the two crowns.
“ At the same time declaring, if these preliminaries
“ were not accepted of, he and his colleague would
“ be obliged to break off all conferences, and to
“ retire from that court.” Thus, Sir, we see that
“ the government has been beforehand with the
“ honourable gentleman in his zeal for the com-
“ merce and navigation of this nation; and that
“ they have done the very thing which by this
“ motion is only proposed to be done.

“ What effect, Sir, had this declaration? I’ll
“ tell you, Sir, the court of *Spain* would not hear
“ of a renunciation, and the consequence was, our
“ minister, according to his orders, left that court.
“ And upon this, Sir, the best, the most justifiable,
“ and the wisest measure that remain’d to be taken,
“ was taken: An order was issued to permit the
“ subjects of *Great Britain* to make reprisals upon
“ the enemy. The *Spaniards*, on the other hand,
“ publish a like order; they fill all the courts of
“ *Europe* with their complaints and manifestoes.
“ The two principal points on which they insist
“ are; First, that we have no right to carry on an
“ illicit trade upon their coasts without being sub-
“ ject to be visited and searched; Secondly, that
“ the divisions and animosities in this nation are so
“ great, that it is next to impossible that matters
“ could be made up without a war. The court of
“ *Spain*, Sir, seems to think that the faction here
“ gives law to the government, and that it would
“ therefore be in vain to treat any longer, because
“ they are resolved to force his Majesty into a war
“ at all events, even though their own terms were
“ granted. I am sorry, Sir, that any number of
“ *British* subjects should by their behaviour give
“ foreign courts reason for entertaining such
“ thoughts.

‘ thoughts. But, Sir, the enemies of the nation
‘ may be deceived in the hopes which they build
‘ upon our divisions; they imagine, it seems, that
‘ if a war were enter’d into, those gentlemen who
‘ are so loud in their cries for it, would be the first
‘ to distress his Majesty, by opposing the necessary
‘ supplies for carrying it on.

‘ This, Sir, is the sum of our enemies hopes,
‘ and this is the plain and genuine language of
‘ their manifestoes and declarations; and, Sir, give
‘ me leave to say, that, judging by appearances,
‘ we can’t at all blame them. The writings and
‘ papers on the side of the opposition have repre-
‘ sented that party as the only considerable men
‘ for riches, probity, and numbers, through the
‘ whole nation; and strangers, who have no op-
‘ portunity of knowing any thing of our affairs
‘ but from these writings, must think the same.
‘ It is no wonder, therefore, Sir, that the *Spa-*
‘ *niards* have been obstinate in their refusal to do
‘ us justice. This the honourable gentleman may
‘ thank his friends for; and, indeed, what nation
‘ upon earth would fear to go to war with a peo-
‘ ple whose government bears daily insults, and
‘ whose Prince meets with daily provocations?
‘ Such indeed is the tenderness of the laws, and
‘ such the clemency of the Sovereign, that the
‘ one is overlook’d, and the other pardon’d. But
‘ foreigners, Sir, who live under arbitrary govern-
‘ ments, and who don’t know what liberty the
‘ subject enjoys here, put another construction up-
‘ on this conduct; they mistake such lenity for
‘ weakness. But, Sir, this is a mistake; for the
‘ government here is not weak. I don’t speak of
‘ its strength in the number of troops, or the great-
‘ ness of its revenues; these, Sir, are now no part
‘ of the question; I mean with regard to the friends
‘ of the administration, as to their natural interest
‘ in the nation. Sir, I will venture to say, setting
‘ aside

‘ aside all confiderations of pofts, places, and pen-
‘ fions, which have been fo much cry’d out againft,
‘ that the natural intereft of the friends of this ad-
‘ miniftration is greater than that of their enemies.

‘ But, Sir, were one to give entire credit to
‘ what is advanced by the honourable gentleman
‘ and his party (not to mention the writers of the
‘ faction) he muft believe, that the friends of the
‘ prefent government of *Great Britain* are not
‘ only inconfiderable in their numbers, but like-
‘ wife defpicable in their abilities: That they
‘ confift of the moft notorious fools in the whole
‘ nation, who neither know how to make peace
‘ nor war; a phrafe that has come lately very
‘ much in fafhion.

‘ This, Sir, was what the honourable gentle-
‘ man meant when he faid, that this nation has
‘ had often melancholy proofs how much our
‘ neighbours are our fuperiors in the cabinet. Yes,
‘ Sir, the proofs are melancholy indeed, witnefs
‘ the effects of the treaty of *Utrecht*; a treaty,
‘ Sir, that has been the fource of all the divifions
‘ and diftractions in *Europe* ever fince; a treaty
‘ that has laid the foundation of the greatnefs of
‘ *France*, which the honourable gentleman, and
‘ his friends, affect now to tremble at. Will the
‘ honourable gentleman, Sir, defend this treaty?
‘ Will he fay it is a good one? I believe he cannot
‘ produce ten men in the nation that are of his
‘ opinion. Will he own it is a bad one? Will
‘ he own that it gave up all the honour, all the
‘ advantages that we had a right to expect from a
‘ glorious and a fuccefsful war? Will he fairly
‘ and honeftly own all this? Let me then ask
‘ him who were the authors of that treaty? Who
‘ were then in the adminiftration? Who then
‘ poffeffed thofe pofts that are now fo much covet-
‘ ed by the oppofition? Let the honourable gen-
‘ tleman answer this, and I will undertake to an-

‘ swer for every article, for every single clause
‘ of every treaty that has been made for these
‘ twenty years past, which the honourable gen-
‘ tleman has found so much fault with. I will
‘ answer for it, Sir, at any bar, in any manner,
‘ and under any penalty that the honourable gen-
‘ tleman and his party shall propose.

‘ Has this nation ever since seemed to be di-
‘ vided from her best and most natural allies?
‘ The treaty of *Utrecht* laid the foundation of
‘ these differences. It was this treaty, Sir, that
‘ gave rise to those dissensions, which the makers
‘ and abettors of it have since endeavoured to im-
‘ prove to the ruin of this nation. If *France* has
‘ attained such a degree of power as puts her
‘ again in a condition to disturb the peace of *Eu-*
‘ *rope*, is it not to be imputed to that treaty?
‘ Thus, Sir, gentlemen who once were ministers,
‘ and who, by a series of blunders, have laid
‘ their successors under a necessity of retrieving
‘ them, by measures which perhaps they would
‘ willingly avoid, did not the misconduct of their
‘ predecessors lay constraints upon them, are the
‘ first to call out for justice upon the succeeding
‘ ministry, though they cannot be ignorant that
‘ every step that these gentlemen have taken, was
‘ in order to rectify the errors which the former
‘ had committed.

‘ The honourable gentleman says, that we have
‘ been outwitted by the powers with whom we
‘ have negotiated. There is nothing so easy, Sir,
‘ as general charges; nothing so true, Sir, as the
‘ old maxim, *Throw out your calumnies with assu-*
‘ *rance, and some of them will find credit.* I could
‘ say twenty times as much, Sir, were I to run
‘ into general terms in favour of the ministry, or,
‘ if the honourable gentleman will have it so, in
‘ favour of myself; I could then be as lavish of
‘ panegyrick, as the honourable gentleman is of
‘ cen-

‘ censure. Outwitted, Sir! give me leave to ask
‘ how or when we have been outwitted? Have
‘ we given up any one branch of our commerce
‘ to our neighbours? Have we made any one
‘ treaty that so much as seems to take away the
‘ smallest advantage we enjoyed by former stipula-
‘ tions? I will venture to say, that the trade of
‘ *Great Britain* is at this instant more flourishing,
‘ her ships more numerous, and her navigation
‘ better protected, than ever was known in former
‘ ages. Are these, Sir, symptoms of a weak ad-
‘ ministration? Are these proofs that we have been
‘ outwitted?

‘ And here, Sir, I will once for all join issue
‘ with the honourable gentleman who, with his
‘ friends, are perpetually expatiating upon that ex-
‘ hausted subject of inconsistent negotiations, and
‘ dishonourable treaties. What treaties, Sir, or
‘ what negotiations have either been dishonourable
‘ or inconsistent for these twenty years past? I
‘ know the honourable gentleman and his friends
‘ are ready to answer, the treaty of *Hanover*. By
‘ that treaty, says he, you deserted your natural
‘ allies; you aggrandized the power of *France*,
‘ and you rendered all the rest of *Europe* jealous of
‘ you. No, Sir, our allies deserted us; the Em-
‘ peror formed alliances, and entered into schemes
‘ that must have been fatal not only to the trade,
‘ but to the liberties of this nation. Such schemes
‘ as I tremble at the remembrance of; which, if
‘ not timely discovered by the vigilance of his late
‘ Majesty and the administration, must have forced
‘ the Pretender upon us. But, Sir, if our natural
‘ allies treated us in this perfidious manner, what
‘ were we to do? Were we not to preserve our-
‘ selves in the best manner we could? Accordingly
‘ a favourable opportunity offered, and we seized
‘ it; a disgust given to the court of *Spain* by the
‘ *French* threw her into the arms of the Emperor.
‘ Thus,

Thus, Sir, the interests of *France* and *Spain* were divided; those of *Spain* and the Emperor were connected. Were we, Sir, to stand single? Were we to suffer *France* to enter into the alliance, and then to make it triple, exclusive of us? No, we joined with *France*, and we did wisely; because we were sure that while this system that was formed by the Emperor and the court of *Spain* continued, it was the interest of *France* to be faithful to us; for she, Sir, had a great deal more to apprehend from the first treaty of *Vienna* than we had. Thus, Sir, the treaty of *Hanover* was the best and wisest step that could be taken at that juncture, and the vigorous preparations which we made in order to support it, broke all the destructive schemes of the Emperor and the court of *Spain*. But it is asked, Why did we not support the Emperor when he was so distressed by *France*? Why did we not lay hold of that opportunity to reduce the power of *France*? Sir, I think we acted very wisely in not interposing in that quarrel at all? In the first place, the balance of *Europe* was not in danger, whatever the event of that war had been. If there were any grounds for the least apprehension, Sir, it was not from the greatness of *France* but of the Emperor. In the next place, the Emperor had been very ungrateful to this nation. It is well known, Sir, what treatment we received from him, even in that noble isle which our arms conquered for him. It is well known how strenuously he persisted in the scheme of the *Ostend* trade, which must have given a fatal blow to the most valuable branches of our commerce. These, Sir, are so many proofs of the Emperor's gratitude for all the benefits which this nation has conferred upon him. And, Sir, in the last place, by our neutrality at that juncture, we reaped the sweets of an unrival'd, uninterrupted commerce for several

verat

‘veral years; a consideration, Sir, that, of all others, ought most to influence the conduct of a trading people; a consideration, Sir, that, give me leave to say it, was singly sufficient to justify our conduct.

‘But, say the honourable gentlemen on the other side, why did we enter into so many negotiations, preliminaries, and conventions afterwards? I answer, Sir, in one word, that we did not enter into any by which the nation suffered, and those we did enter into, were in order to preserve the benefits of a flourishing commerce. With this view, Sir, it was that his Majesty thought fit to conclude the treaty of *Seville*: A treaty, which, though it was not attended with all the good effects that we could desire, yet was still infinitely preferable to a war, notwithstanding the clamours raised about this treaty, as if the interests of our merchants had been entirely given up by it, and as if it had laid the foundation for all the disputes that have since happened with *Spain*.

‘As to the conduct of *Spain*, with regard to our merchants, I own it will admit of no defence; but nothing is more unreasonable than to impute it, or any neglect of their interests, to the ministry, whose care in this treaty was very evident; for it contain’d a foundation not for further disputes, but for putting an end to our differences. If the *Spaniards* hindered the good effects of it by breach of faith, I am afraid they were too much encouraged by the dispositions which they observed to prevail among a certain party here. It was with a view of avoiding, if possible, a ruinous war, that the negotiations of the commissaries on both sides, in consequence of this treaty of *Seville*, were continued so long. And give me leave to say, Sir, that however some private persons might suffer, with whatever

‘reason

‘ reason they might call out for justice upon *Spain*,
‘ yet our pacifick forbearance was the safest and
‘ the wisest conduct for the general interest of a
‘ trading people.

‘ I have lived, Sir, long enough in the world to
‘ see the effects of war on this nation; I have seen,
‘ Sir, how destructive the effects, even of a suc-
‘ cessful war have been; and shall I, Sir, who have
‘ seen this, when I am admitted to the honour to
‘ bear a share in his Majesty’s councils, advise him
‘ to enter upon a war while peace may be had?
‘ No, Sir, I am proud to own it, that I always
‘ have been, and always shall be, an advocate for
‘ peace. I would, Sir, act the same part over again
‘ I have already acted. I would give the same
‘ advice to his Majesty, I would make the same
‘ opposition in this house that I have ever done,
‘ to those who delight in bloodshed and confusion,
‘ and who can be happy only in the misery of
‘ their country.

‘ But, Sir, when it was found that our commerce
‘ was no longer to be preserved but by a war,
‘ when the *Spaniards* by a flagrant breach of faith
‘ refused to fulfil the stipulations they had entered
‘ into, the same considerations, Sir, which had
‘ hitherto dictated to me, that peace, if possible,
‘ was to be preserved, then determined me in my
‘ acquiescence to the advice of a vigorous war.

‘ I shall trouble the house, Sir, with very little
‘ more. The honourable gentleman talked of a
‘ secret negotiation that was suspected to be on
‘ foot; a suspicion that, I believe, has never enter-
‘ ed into any man’s breast without doors; for what
‘ reason it is mentioned here, I leave the honoura-
‘ ble gentleman to answer. The honourable gen-
‘ tleman said that a Parliament may punish a mi-
‘ nistry, should it act amiss, and that the advice
‘ of a minister ought not to be put in the balance
‘ with that of a Parliament. To all this I readily
‘ agree;

‘ agree; but, Sir, can he, or any gentleman say,
‘ that the advice of his Majesty’s ministry and
‘ Parliament have ever been inconsistent with one
‘ another? Can he pretend that the ministry have
‘ disregarded the sense of Parliament? It is with a
‘ very bad grace that the honourable gentleman
‘ and his party pay any compliments to the sense
‘ of Parliament. They, it is well known, have
‘ ever disregarded, have ever opposed the proceed-
‘ ings of this house. They are still calling for
‘ questions that this house has not thought proper
‘ to pass: They have still been opposing, for near
‘ these fifty years past, measures that this house
‘ has thought absolutely necessary to the peace and
‘ safety of the nation. But such is the conduct of
‘ those who usurp the title of patriots; a term, Sir,
‘ in itself venerable, but by the abuse of it now
‘ become ridiculous! When they want to magnify
‘ the importance of a favourite measure of their
‘ own, the Parliament must be complimented, the
‘ importance of the legislature display’d, and the
‘ dignity of this house insisted on: But when that
‘ very Parliament gives the question against them,
‘ they are then, with these worthy gentlemen, no
‘ better than a pack’d assembly, and a corrupted
‘ majority.

‘ The honourable gentleman has said, that the
‘ address proposed by him is built on the words of
‘ his Majesty’s speech. But how? Why, Sir, be-
‘ cause his Majesty told us in that speech that he
‘ had called us together to have our immediate
‘ advice and assistance. Does not his Majesty call
‘ us together every year for the same purpose,
‘ though our advice and assistance happens to be
‘ now more immediately necessary than usual? But
‘ when his Majesty express’d himself so, I believe
‘ he imagined we were only to advise him, not to
‘ prescribe to him. However, as his Majesty has
‘ so great a regard for this house, as to take in
‘ good

‘ good part our advice, in whatever manner it is
 ‘ communicated; as there is nothing in this motion
 ‘ that has not been over and over again repeated,
 ‘ both in our former addresses and his Majesty’s
 ‘ answers; I will so far disappoint the honourable
 ‘ gentleman who made the motion, as not to op-
 ‘ pose it.’

The reply was made by *William Pulteney, Esq;*
 to the following effect:

Mr. Pulteney’s speech. ‘ Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ Sir, The air of ridicule and contempt, with
 ‘ which the right honourable gentleman who spoke
 ‘ last has treated this motion, when he had nothing
 ‘ to object to it, and the reflections he has thrown
 ‘ out against a gentleman esteem’d and belov’d by
 ‘ every man in the nation but himself and his de-
 ‘ pendants, call upon me to say something in de-
 ‘ fence of both. The modesty with which my
 ‘ honourable friend introduc’d the motion he has
 ‘ made, and the strong arguments he advanced to
 ‘ support it, might, I think, have induced the
 ‘ right honourable gentleman to have spared him-
 ‘ self the trouble of an answer, and sav’d me that
 ‘ of a reply; but since the one has made the other
 ‘ little less than necessary, if any thing disagreeable
 ‘ to him shall fall from me, he must impute it to
 ‘ the manner in which he has treated his oppo-
 ‘ nents, the honestest and wisest men in the king-
 ‘ dom.

‘ It was very remarkable, Sir, in the beginning
 ‘ of his speech, that he affected to talk of this
 ‘ motion with the utmost indifference; he own’d
 ‘ there was nothing in it that was not perfectly a-
 ‘ greeable to the former sense of this house, and
 ‘ yet he seem’d to think it was intended as an im-
 ‘ peachment. I hope that word does not haunt
 ‘ the right honourable gentleman; I admit it has
 ‘ been

‘ been very terrible to bad ministers in former
‘ times, who have thought themselves as well se-
‘ cur’d in their power as the right honourable gen-
‘ tleman thinks himself in his; but I hope, Sir, he
‘ will have no occasion to dread their fate, if he
‘ does not tread in their steps. It appears, indeed,
‘ very suspicious to me, Sir, that the right honour-
‘ able gentleman should be thus dissatisfied with a
‘ motion to which he can object nothing, a motion
‘ which I am sure every man in the kingdom will
‘ applaud, as proposing the only means to secure
‘ the interests of this nation from being again ne-
‘ gotiated away; it is very strange that the right
‘ honourable gentleman shou’d look upon such a
‘ motion as an impeachment of his conduct.

‘ The right honourable gentleman, Sir, says
‘ that this question, though he owns that nothing
‘ can be objected to it, is design’d to render him
‘ unpopular. Really, Sir, I am sorry to say that,
‘ I am afraid he has very little popularity to lose.
‘ But if the question can affect him in its conse-
‘ quences without doors, it must tend to give him
‘ a little popularity, should a matter, so much for
‘ the credit and interest of the nation, be proposed
‘ and pass in this house, without being thrown out
‘ by his influence. It is indeed somewhat very
‘ unusual, but the honourable gentleman has him-
‘ self very well accounted why it should be so; he
‘ is forc’d to let it pass, because he does not know
‘ how to oppose it. Had I, says he, that power
‘ and influence in this house, and those inclinations
‘ to make a bad use of them that are imputed to
‘ me, I shou’d throw this motion out. No, Sir,
‘ I have more regard for the character of the right
‘ honourable gentleman’s friends, than to suppose
‘ that his influence with them is so strong as to
‘ make them throw out a motion so unexception-
‘ able, so parliamentary, and so agreeable to the
‘ intentions of his Majesty and the legislature, as
‘ the

‘ the right honourable gentleman has allow’d this
 ‘ to be, and that too without debating it; for de-
 ‘ bate it can admit of none.

‘ But the right honourable gentleman has not
 ‘ yet done with his compliments to this house.
 ‘ He has told you, Sir, that he perceives himself
 ‘ to be the deer singled out for the sport of the
 ‘ day. I do indeed think that this is a comparison
 ‘ a little too ludicrous for the dignity of this assem-
 ‘ bly, but since the honourable gentleman has in-
 ‘ troduc’d one simile of the low kind, give me
 ‘ leave to attempt to give you another. The right
 ‘ honourable gentleman has for twenty years past
 ‘ jockey’d the nation, and it is now time to unsad-
 ‘ dle him. I submit it to the house, Sir, if this
 ‘ is not a more proper comparison than his. He
 ‘ won’t be so easily hunted down. Really, Sir, I
 ‘ don’t know if the game is worth the pains, were
 ‘ it not for the diversion that the chace might af-
 ‘ ford.

‘ His great strength, it seems, lies in his having
 ‘ the approbation of this house to all his measures;
 ‘ in that consists his safety, and from that arises his
 ‘ confidence. But, Sir, will the approbation of
 ‘ Parliament atone for the ruin of the nation? Is
 ‘ the Parliament infallible, or has it been unani-
 ‘ mous in its approbation? Have those who have
 ‘ no dependance upon you, who have nothing to
 ‘ hope or to fear from you, approv’d of your con-
 ‘ duct? Has the voice of the people, a people op-
 ‘ press’d and insulted, but yet unenslav’d, given
 ‘ the last great sanction to the suffrages of Parlia-
 ‘ ment? Is it impossible, Sir, for a succeeding Par-
 ‘ liament to have another opinion of those mea-
 ‘ sures which now seem to be approv’d? He says
 ‘ that former ministers fell, because they had not
 ‘ the approbation of this house. Sir, I can name
 ‘ ministers whose measures were far more generally
 ‘ approv’d in this house, than those which now
 ‘ plead

‘ plead that approbation, and yet this house has
‘ afterwards thought those very measures worthy
‘ of an impeachment. He knows this, Sir; he
‘ himself had a large share of the management of
‘ an impeachment against a very great minister,
‘ who had the approbation of this house for what
‘ he did. But, Sir, if the right honourable person’s
‘ conduct were to be canvass’d by this house, I am
‘ afraid that the first article that would fall under
‘ our consideration wou’d be, by what means such
‘ approbation was obtained.

‘ The right honourable gentleman, Sir, has
‘ through the whole of his speech evidently affect-
‘ ed to depreciate the importance of my worthy
‘ friend’s motion, and applauds his own happy ta-
‘ lent at reply, when he tells us that there is in
‘ this motion nothing new, nothing that was not
‘ contained in former addresses and resolutions of
‘ this house.

‘ But may it not be asked, if this is so weak, so
‘ trifling, so insignificant a motion, why it shou’d
‘ give the right honourable person so visible an
‘ uneasiness? Why shou’d he take so much pains
‘ to vilify, to ridicule, to discourage it? Sir, it is
‘ plain to me that this motion is of the utmost im-
‘ portance, and were I in doubt about the benefits
‘ of it, the manner in which he has treated it
‘ would be sufficient to convince me that it will
‘ promote the honour of the nation. But indeed,
‘ Sir, the importance of the motion speaks for it-
‘ self. We have been four or five times upon the
‘ brink of being negotiated out of all our rights
‘ by ministers, who did not understand what they
‘ were negotiating about. We have seen the plain-
‘ est, the most obvious sense of treaties wrested to
‘ the ruin and loss of the most valuable branches
‘ of our trade. Did we not see attempts made by
‘ the right honourable gentleman and his friends,
‘ to explain away the meaning of the resolutions

‘ which the Parliament came to, about two sessions
‘ ago? Did we not see the same attempt on occasion
‘ of the convention? When that treaty came
‘ to be consider’d here, and when it was objected
‘ that it cou’d not be a good one, because it was
‘ inconsistent with the resolutions of both houses,
‘ was it not answer’d that these resolutions were
‘ never meant to restrain the ministry from making
‘ a treaty with *Spain*, before she had absolutely renounced
‘ all claim and pretensions to a right of
‘ searching our vessels? Sir, if these resolutions
‘ were explained in that manner, have we not very
‘ good reason for suspecting that the subsequent
‘ addresses and acts of Parliament may be explain’d
‘ in favour of any dishonourable peace that the
‘ ministry shall make? May not the declaration of
‘ war itself be taught to patronize cowardice, and
‘ implore peace?

‘ But this motion seems so drawn up as to defy
‘ the utmost efforts of ministerial subtilty, this will
‘ admit of no construction unworthy of the *British*
‘ Parliament. This, Sir, is all that is intended by
‘ the motion, and this, I believe, is the chief reason
‘ of the uneasiness it produces.

‘ We are ask’d, Why are we now at war with
‘ *Spain*? And inform’d, That it is because they
‘ have refused to grant us the claim mention’d in
‘ this very motion. Give me leave to say, Sir,
‘ that there are other reasons why we are now at
‘ war with *Spain*; and had it not been for these
‘ other reasons, this, I believe, wou’d never have
‘ been mention’d. The chief reason is the breach
‘ of the convention; that convention which does
‘ so much honour to our negotiators: Had not the
‘ *Spaniards*, by the breach of that convention,
‘ broke all the measures of our ministry, we should
‘ probably have seen a peace concluded without
‘ any stipulation of a free passage through the
‘ *American* seas. But the *Spaniards*, instead of
‘ making

‘ making us the least concession, were determined
‘ to carry their arrogance to the utmost height,
‘ and to add one insult to another, in hopes that
‘ the same meanness of spirit which admitted the
‘ convention, would suffer the violation of it.
‘ This, Sir, is the chief reason, whatever may be
‘ urged to the contrary by the ministerial advo-
‘ cates, for the war we are engaged in, unless it
‘ can be proved to the house, that the convention
‘ contain’d a positive stipulation, that the demand,
‘ requir’d by this motion to be a preliminary of
‘ any future treaty with *Spain*, should be a preli-
‘ minary of the succeeding negotiations. But that,
‘ I believe, will not be attempted.

‘ This being rightly considered, Sir, all that the
‘ right honourable person has said about the zeal
‘ of himself and his friends, in breaking off the
‘ negotiations because the terms contain’d in this
‘ motion were not complied with, falls to the
‘ ground: For the convention was actually broken
‘ before Mr. *Keene* presented his last memorial to
‘ the court of *Spain*. It was broken by the *Spa-*
‘ *niards* refusing to pay the 95,000 *l*.

‘ This, Sir, I remember very well, was the
‘ sense of another assembly, where the convention
‘ was look’d upon no longer to exist; and this the
‘ very words of Mr. *Keene*’s memorial, as repre-
‘ sented to us, plainly express. He there tells the
‘ court of *Spain*, that she was not only to execute
‘ the engagements she had entered into by the
‘ convention, but to comply with other demands.
‘ Now, Sir, the question is, whether if that court
‘ had, without farther delay, fulfilled those en-
‘ gagements, we should have heard any thing of
‘ those farther demands. I am afraid we should
‘ not, Sir. The very nature of the convention
‘ forbids our insisting upon, as a preliminary, the
‘ renunciation demanded, with regard to searching
‘ our ships. We see by the first article, Sir, that

' this was to be regulated by plenipotentiaries,
 ' who were to examine into treaties, and to deter-
 ' mine this important affair. Whoever considers
 ' this, Sir, will find that we really had no right
 ' (if we suppose that the convention had any vali-
 ' dity) to insist upon making that a preliminary,
 ' which was actually the thing in dispute. So
 ' that, Sir, either the convention was of no weight,
 ' or this demand upon the *Spaniards* to make a
 ' renunciation of their claim to search our ships, a
 ' preliminary, was not the thing which broke up
 ' the conferences. If the money had been paid,
 ' the *Spaniards* had a right to proceed in the trea-
 ' ty, and the plenipotentiaries a power to conclude
 ' it.

' From this consideration gentlemen may see
 ' what a precipice this nation has escap'd, and dis-
 ' cover the importance of the present motion for
 ' guarding us against the like danger in time to
 ' come. I shall therefore now beg leave to make
 ' a few farther observations. Great pains have
 ' been taken, Sir, to represent our court, in King
 ' *Charles* II'd's time, as guilty of very great in-
 ' justice in their proceedings with the *Spaniards* in
 ' *America*. I shall be far from justifying all the
 ' maxims or practices of that reign; yet I wish,
 ' Sir, that in some following reigns the same spirit,
 ' corrupt and unjust as it was, in some parts of its
 ' conduct, had been imitated, for preserving our
 ' interest in *America*. We don't read, Sir, of idle
 ' memorials being presented at that time from our
 ' ministers to those of *Spain*; we don't read that
 ' the *Spaniards* ever dar'd to insult us without suf-
 ' fering for it; and give me leave to say, Sir, that
 ' I cannot discover, from our histories of these
 ' transactions, that our court was chargeable with
 ' so much injustice as the honourable gentleman
 ' represents. The court of *Spain* once indeed gave
 ' orders for dispossessing us of a settlement which

‘ we apprehended we had a right to by the treaty
‘ of the 22d of King *Charles* II. and we were in
‘ reality dispossess’d: We soon retook it, and per-
‘ haps thought it necessary to punish their presump-
‘ tion with exemplary resentment; but how was
‘ that against the principles of justice? They like-
‘ wise ordered our ships concerned in the logwood
‘ trade to be seized; we justly contended that we
‘ had a right by the same treaty to that trade;
‘ and if we made reprizals beyond the value of the
‘ loss, was there any thing in this proceeding re-
‘ pugnant to the law of nations? No, Sir; if we
‘ had acted still in the same manner, if the first
‘ injury had been warmly resented, we should ne-
‘ ver have heard of their claim to a right of search-
‘ ing our ships, nor have been engaged in the pre-
‘ sent war.

‘ The right honourable gentleman mentioned
‘ the letter transmitted from Mr. *Keene* to M. *de la*
‘ *Quadra*, and endeavoured to reconcile that letter
‘ with the convention. Sir, the very words of
‘ the letter itself, when compared with those of the
‘ convention, will be sufficient to clear up that
‘ point. Mr. *Keene* affirms in that letter, that the
‘ *Spaniards* claim of searching was never heard of
‘ by any King of *England*, and would never be
‘ admitted by his present Majesty. The conven-
‘ tion on the other hand expressly admits this
‘ claim to be discuss’d by the plenipotentiaries, be-
‘ fore the definitive treaty should be made: Now
‘ how reconcileable these two are to one another,
‘ I leave the house to judge. As to the farther
‘ demand made by our minister, I have already
‘ sufficiently discussed it, nor shall I trouble the
‘ house with any thing more on that subject.

‘ With regard to the conduct of our court upon
‘ the breaking up of the conferences, I think it
‘ had been far more prudent in the right honoura-
‘ ble gentleman not to have mentioned it at all;

‘ for it evidently condemns all that we had been
‘ doing for ten or twelve years before. If the right
‘ honourable person had any hand in the vigorous
‘ measures then taken, I congratulate him on the
‘ change of his opinion, but I think at the same
‘ time, that by defending and apologizing for the
‘ measures that preceded the order for reprizals, he
‘ gives a very strong proof that he had very little
‘ share in those councils. Give me leave to say,
‘ Sir, that all the merit of the declaration of war,
‘ of our entering into wise and vigorous measures,
‘ is to be ascribed to his Majesty himself, whom
‘ it was impossible to amuse any longer with for-
‘ mal declarations, and empty assurances. I dare
‘ say the right honourable gentleman will not pre-
‘ tend to arrogate any part of the praise to him-
‘ self.

‘ It has, Sir, been more than hinted, that the
‘ gentlemen in the opposition had by their conduct
‘ encouraged *Spain* to treat us with the insolence
‘ and injustice so much complain’d of. Indeed,
‘ Sir, I own I never had a bad opinion of the op-
‘ position, but I never knew the good effects of it
‘ so well as now; for it was, it seems, by means of
‘ our opposition that the nation has been driven
‘ into this war, and I will maintain, that, had she
‘ continued to be misled with pacifick plans, she
‘ had been irrecoverably ruined. But pray, Sir,
‘ were there no former instances of their insolence,
‘ even as great as their refusing to pay the
‘ 95,000 *l.*? Did they never rob and plunder us
‘ while it was not so much as pretended that the
‘ opposition interposed? I agree, Sir, with the right
‘ honourable gentleman, that the war had its rise
‘ from the conduct of the opposition, but differ
‘ with him when he attributes the insolence of
‘ *Spain* to the same cause. That, Sir, we must
‘ attribute to the pusillanimity of our counsels,
‘ and to nothing else. If a just regard had been
‘ shown

‘ shown to the opinion of the gentlemen who
‘ have the honour to be in the opposition, more
‘ vigorous measures would have been taken long
‘ ago; and the nation would thereby have escap’d
‘ all the infamy she has incurr’d, all the loss
‘ sustained, from the mean, scandalous concessions
‘ made on every occasion. The right honourable
‘ gentleman, Sir, not satisfied with charging the
‘ opposition with encouraging the insolence of
‘ *Spain*, has ventured to insinuate that the gentle-
‘ men engaged in it would take an opportunity to
‘ distress his Majesty’s arms by opposing the sup-
‘ plies necessary for carrying on the war. Sir, I
‘ don’t believe that there is one gentleman in
‘ the opposition, who does not detest the very
‘ thought of such a procedure. There may,
‘ perhaps, be gentlemen in another interest, who
‘ would be very glad of any pretence, from the
‘ conduct of the opposition, to excuse the slow-
‘ ness and inefficacy of our arms: But, Sir, I will
‘ take it upon me to declare, that they shall have
‘ no such excuse.

‘ The numbers, Sir, of whom the right ho-
‘ nourable gentleman was pleased to boast, as con-
‘ curring with his measures, I must confess, with
‘ sorrow, are indeed too great, though with re-
‘ gard to the figure they would make, if divested
‘ of what they enjoy through his favour, I will
‘ be bold to say that it would not be very con-
‘ siderable. When was there any question that
‘ concerned him, since he came to the head of
‘ the administration, carried otherwise than by a
‘ majority of those who had an immediate depen-
‘ dence upon his smiles, and owed part of their
‘ fortunes to his favour? I would willingly avoid
‘ all personal reflexions, notwithstanding the right
‘ honourable gentleman’s aggravations, and shall
‘ therefore put the merits of his ministry upon
‘ this single fact, Whether in the questions that

‘ relate to himself, the majority in his favour
‘ have not posts, places, and pensions under the
‘ crown? And I desire no farther satisfaction than
‘ a plain and positive answer.

‘ I come now, Sir, to consider a little the en-
‘ comium which the right honourable gentleman
‘ has made on his own administration. In the
‘ first place, Sir, I think he did not pretend to
‘ justify all the treaties and engagements we have
‘ entered into during these twenty years last past,
‘ except by saying, that if there were any incon-
‘ sistencies in them, they were occasioned by the
‘ treaty of *Utrecht*; and here he took an oppor-
‘ tunity to enlarge on his darling topic, and re-
‘ proach the ministry who made that treaty; a
‘ treaty, which indeed I shall be far from vindi-
‘ cating. But how did that treaty affect the trea-
‘ ty of *Hanover*? Or how could it lay the foun-
‘ dation of those differences which divided us
‘ then from our best allies, and which we have
‘ never yet been able to reconcile? Was the treaty
‘ of *Utrecht* the reason, Sir, why we entertained
‘ the ridiculous panick which prevailed upon us
‘ to conclude that of *Hanover*? Did it dictate
‘ the suggestion of a secret treaty betwixt the Em-
‘ peror and the King of *Spain* in favour of the
‘ Pretender? A design not only suspected and
‘ whispered, but solemnly declared from a place
‘ which ought to be the fountain of truth, and
‘ strongly maintained in both houses. Can the
‘ right honourable gentleman say, Sir, that the
‘ event justify’d the declaration? Or that there
‘ afterwards appeared the least foundation for it?
‘ Can he pretend that the treaty of *Hanover* was
‘ a measure calculated for confirming allies in our
‘ interests? His *Prussian* Majesty, Sir, who was
‘ an original party in it, took the first opportunity
‘ of deserting it; and such of our allies, as were
‘ not original parties, were bought into it at a
‘ vast

‘ vast expence ; an expence that might have been
‘ complained of as unnecessary, had it purchased
‘ security, but certainly to be justly censured as it
‘ procured nothing but contempt. The *Dutch*
‘ did not accede to it till eleven months after it
‘ was concluded at *Hanover*, and then with very
‘ large restrictions. The crown and kingdom of
‘ *Sweden* were bribed into it at the price of
‘ 50,000*l.* a year, for three years. The King of
‘ *Denmark* had a large subsidy paid him for four
‘ years. The Landgraves of *Hesse Cassel* received
‘ upwards of 1,500,000*l.* of our money for keep-
‘ ing up a body of troops which was not of the
‘ least service to us ; and the Duke of *Wolfen-*
‘ *buttle* had 25,000*l.* allowed him for four years,
‘ as the price of his important accession.

‘ Now, Sir, let gentlemen consider how much
‘ this important treaty, which the right honoura-
‘ ble person has attempted to defend, cost the na-
‘ tion, and then let them determine if it is pro-
‘ bable, or indeed possible, that a treaty, made
‘ for the common interest of *Europe*, could have
‘ cost us so much in procuring allies to it. I be-
‘ lieve it will be found, Sir, that there is no ne-
‘ cessity of bribing any people into a measure that
‘ is for their own advantage.

‘ The right honourable gentleman likewise men-
‘ tioned the vigorous preparations made in order
‘ to disappoint the ambitious designs of the Em-
‘ peror and the court of *Spain*. I remember very
‘ well, Sir, that at that time we did, indeed,
‘ send out three fleets, but I think the event very
‘ fully proved, that we might have spared our-
‘ selves the trouble and expence. For when one
‘ of our fleets was sent to the coasts of *Spain*, in
‘ order to prevent the execution of an attempt
‘ design’d, as was suspected, by these two courts
‘ in favour of the Pretender, it was plainly pro-
‘ ved in this house, from the letters of the admi-
‘ ral

‘ral who commanded that fleet, that the *Spaniards* so little dreamt of any hostilities, that
‘when he came upon their coasts, all the troops
‘they could bring together did not amount to
‘three thousand men, and these very ill provided,
‘and in a very bad condition. Nor, did the na-
‘tion ever receive the least proof of any secret
‘treaty that was made by *Spain* and the Em-
‘peror, though it was merely on a presumption
‘that such a treaty existed, that this fleet was
‘sent out. Nay, a little time after, our ministers
‘themselves own’d that this treaty was only
‘suspected, and that they had no proof of any
‘such design. Another of our fleets, Sir, was
‘sent to the *Baltick*, to prevent the projects
‘of the court of *Muscovy* from taking effect,
‘and to hinder that Princess from dethroning
‘the King of *Sweden*. But it is very remarkable
‘that the *Muscovites* and the *Swedes* had, before
‘this fleet arrived on their coasts, concluded a
‘peace. Thus it is plain, that this fleet was not
‘of the least service to the nation. It is with
‘some reluctance, Sir, that I mention the intent
‘of the third fleet, which was under the com-
‘mand of admiral *Hofier*, because it awakens to
‘the memory of the house the fate of that un-
‘fortunate commander, and of the brave men
‘who were suffered to perish at sea, and pin’d
‘away for want of orders to do justice either to
‘themselves or their country. The pretence for
‘sending it out, was the protecting the trade of
‘his Majesty’s subjects to *America*, and to pre-
‘vent the return of the plate-ships to *Spain*.
‘But were either of those ends answered? No,
‘Sir, the *Spaniards* went on plundering our mer-
‘chants in those parts, while our fleet lay ineffec-
‘tually before their harbours, till almost all our
‘seamen, and three of our captains, died inglo-
‘riously without an enemy. We might have
‘easily

‘ easily taken their fleet, but when *Hofier’s* in-
‘ structions were examin’d in this house, it was
‘ found that he was not sent to fight, but to per-
‘ suade. And, what is still more extraordinary,
‘ Sir, the said plate-ships, most richly laden,
‘ were suffer’d to escape under the very sterns of
‘ our ships, which were then lying on the *Spanish*
‘ coasts, under the command of an honourable
‘ gentleman, who sits by me, who, I believe, no
‘ body doubts, would have very willingly per-
‘ form’d any service in which he could have been
‘ warranted by his instructions.

‘ The *Spaniards* also were suffer’d to carry pro-
‘ visions and military stores to their army before
‘ *Gibraltar*. After that siege was begun, Sir,
‘ did we receive the least assistance from our new
‘ allies? No, not one of them so much as offer’d
‘ to arm in our quarrel; they consider’d the
‘ blocking up the galleons in the *American* har-
‘ bours, as the first act of hostility, and conse-
‘ quently judg’d us to be the aggressors; upon
‘ which presumption they concluded themselves
‘ free from all obligations to assist us, because
‘ their alliance with us was only defensive. In
‘ the mean time, we tamely suffer’d that siege to
‘ be regularly carried on by the *Spaniards*, and
‘ trusted to the bravery of the garison, without
‘ endeavouring with our fleet to bombard one of
‘ their towns, in order to make a diversion: And
‘ thanks to the valour of our troops, they brave-
‘ ly repelled the besiegers, else we might have
‘ seen that important place now in the hands of
‘ our enemies, notwithstanding both the strength
‘ of our fleet, and the friendship of our allies.

‘ Such, Sir, are the triumphs which this re-
‘ markable period of the right honourable gentle-
‘ man’s administration has afforded, and such the
‘ subject of the labour’d panegyrick he has made
‘ on his own conduct. If I have not kept to the
‘ motion

‘ motion now before the house, I hope gentlemen
‘ will excuse me, as I was forc’d into the di-
‘ gression by the necessity of following the right
‘ honourable gentleman. But, continu’d he, du-
‘ ring all this time we enjoy’d the benefits of an
‘ uninterrupted commerce. How uninterrupted
‘ our commerce was, Sir, the suffering merchants,
‘ whose claims were given in to our commissaries
‘ appointed by the treaty of *Seville*, can witness;
‘ and I should be glad to know the benefits and
‘ felicity that attend commerce, wherein every
‘ ship we sent out to our own colonies was in
‘ danger of being taken and plunder’d by our
‘ enemies!

‘ We have had lately so much of the conven-
‘ tion, that I shall not trouble the house with any
‘ remarks upon what the right honourable gentle-
‘ man has said about the treaty of *Seville*, and
‘ the rather because he touch’d upon it in such a
‘ manner as if he were inclined to give it up.
‘ But I cannot so easily pass over his distinction
‘ betwixt private and publick losses. I conceive,
‘ Sir, that many private losses, and many must be
‘ own’d to have been sustain’d, amount to a pub-
‘ lick, a general loss. When several private per-
‘ sons suffer by carrying on any branch of trade,
‘ as was the case of our *West-India* merchants, it
‘ discourages others from carrying it on, and that
‘ branch must of course fall to decay.

‘ I shall join, Sir, in any encomium that can be
‘ made upon the benefits of peace to a trading
‘ nation. I am sensible how carefully we ought to
‘ avoid war, if peace can be had upon safe and
‘ honourable terms. But, Sir, if the terms upon
‘ which it is preserv’d are destructive of trade,
‘ the very same reasons that ought to prevail for
‘ continuing peace ought to take place in favour
‘ of war. We have for many years had a peace
‘ more destructive than war itself; a peace, Sir,
‘ that

‘ that has impair’d the health and vigour of this
‘ nation, only because the proper remedy was dis-
‘ agreeable to the ministry. I believe no man;
‘ Sir, wou’d willingly take nauseous medicines;
‘ but if the state of his health absolutely requires
‘ them, if he must languish with an irrecoverable
‘ consumption, or be cut off by a violent fever,
‘ the most nauseous draught will no longer be
‘ rejected.

‘ The right honourable gentleman mentioned
‘ the last war. I own, Sir, the last war is now
‘ very heavy upon this nation; but why? Not
‘ because of the expence it then cost us, but be-
‘ cause the debt we incurr’d by that expence has
‘ not been paid off. Had a proper œconomy
‘ been observ’d, had those immense sums been
‘ saved, that have been expended upon super-
‘ fluous offices, standing armies, and idle expedi-
‘ tions, the nation, Sir, had now felt no bad
‘ consequence of that war. But, Sir, it is easy
‘ for a lavish ministry in time of peace to bring
‘ upon the nation all the inconveniencies that at-
‘ tend a war. It is easy, by squandering the pub-
‘ lick money, to continue the debts of the na-
‘ tion, to perpetuate her imposts, and to increase
‘ her taxes. It was not the late war, it was our
‘ later management, that has brought the incon-
‘ veniencies upon the nation the right honourable
‘ gentleman has so quick a sense of. The late
‘ war, Sir, was undertaken in defence of the
‘ liberties of this nation, and of all *Europe*; the
‘ present war ought to have been undertaken long
‘ before it was, in defence of our trade and navi-
‘ gation; for if trade and navigation suffer, our
‘ liberties must suffer also.

‘ I am sensible, Sir, how much I have said
‘ that might have been spared; but my zeal for a
‘ motion, upon which so much of the dignity
‘ and interest of the crown and nation itself de-
‘ pends,

' pends, is so great, that I thought it my duty
 ' to remove, as much as I cou'd, all pretences for
 ' objections. If we are not unanimous in our
 ' agreement to it, if there should be the appearance
 ' of division, if there should be a debate upon it,
 ' I shall willingly agree that my honourable friend
 ' shall retract it. For I would much rather see it
 ' quite drop'd, than not agreed to unanimously.
 ' What an encouragement, Sir, would it give to
 ' the enemies of this nation, if they should dis-
 ' cover there was a party in this nation, a party
 ' in this house, Sir, so much their avow'd friends,
 ' as to make any objection to a motion, which
 ' proposes the only means left us for obtaining re-
 ' dress of the many injuries and insults offered to
 ' this crown and nation! I have the satisfaction,
 ' Sir, to believe, that none within this house will
 ' be so weak or so wicked as to oppose it. The
 ' friends of the nation will universally applaud it,
 ' and the friends of the minister dare not appear
 ' against it. I say, they dare not: They dare
 ' not, because they would, by so publick a deser-
 ' tion of their country, pull down upon their own
 ' heads the resentment of the whole nation, of an
 ' incensed, injured people. They wou'd open
 ' his Majesty's eyes, and thereby discover the
 ' means by which his honour and the nation's in-
 ' terest have so long suffered. To conclude, let
 ' us be unanimous, or let the motion be drop'd,
 ' and, if it be possible, forgotten.'

The question being then put, it was unani-
mously agreed to.

This being over, Sir *William Wyndham* rose,
and spoke to the following effect:

Sir *William*
Wyndham's
 speech and
 motions for
 giving his
 Majesty the
 advice of
 Parliament.

' Sir, It is so unusual for me to congratulate
 ' this house upon carrying any question that
 ' comes

‘ comes from me, or any of the gentlemen with
‘ whom I have the honour to vote in national
‘ points, that I am very much at a loss how to
‘ express myself at present. I am the more em-
‘ barras’d, Sir, on this occasion, as my senti-
‘ ments of pleasure and gratitude crowd so fast
‘ upon me, that my expressions quite sink under
‘ them. Pleas’d as I am, Sir, that this nation,
‘ this nation once so dreaded, once so courted,
‘ of late so despis’d, trampled on, and insulted,
‘ has now a near prospect of being in a condition
‘ to assert her rights, and revenge her injuries:
‘ Grateful as I am, Sir, that I have been so
‘ happy as to meet with the unanimous concur-
‘ rence of this house in the motion that draws
‘ this agreeable prospect so near, how much
‘ shou’d I be wanting to my duty, to the nation,
‘ to this house, and to myself, if I should stop
‘ here!

‘ The unanimity we have now express’d, Sir,
‘ is enough for this house, but not enough for
‘ the honour of his Majesty, the nation, or the
‘ dignity of Parliament. We are to go a step
‘ farther, before we can acquit ourselves of all we
‘ owe to them upon this occasion. This house,
‘ Sir, has the glory of having first agreed to the
‘ motion; but let us consider, Sir, that we are
‘ but one house, and nothing but the collective
‘ dignity of the whole legislative body can give it
‘ its proper weight. The good wishes, the pray-
‘ ers, and the acclamations of the people it will
‘ certainly obtain, the encouragement and the
‘ thanks of his Majesty cannot be doubted: But,
‘ Sir, it must have the concurrence and counte-
‘ nance of both Lords and Commons to produce
‘ the effects desired in the rest of *Europe*, to shew
‘ foreign courts that negotiations are now at an
‘ end, that the Parliament has again resum’d its
‘ authority in his Majesty’s councils, and that
‘ they

‘ they are no longer under the influence of his
 ‘ ministry. Let us, Sir, do our duty on this oc-
 ‘ casion; let us invite the other house to a share of
 ‘ the glory in presenting this resolution to his Ma-
 ‘ jesty. If they shou’d refuse to join us, which I
 ‘ am far from suspecting, if they shou’d not be so
 ‘ unanimous as we have been, let the censures of
 ‘ the nation and of posterity fall upon them, but
 ‘ let us do our duty.

‘ Therefore, Sir, give me leave to make another
 ‘ motion, which is, That this resolution be com-
 ‘ municated to the Lords, and their concurrence
 ‘ desired thereto.’

This being likewise resolved unanimously, he made another motion, That a conference be desired with the Lords upon a matter of the greatest importance to the honour of the crown, and the navigation and commerce of this nation.

This being likewise resolved; the Speaker put the question,

That a committee be appointed to manage the said conference; which was ordered likewise, and Sir *Robert Walpole*, *Horatio Walpole*, Esq; *William Pulteney*, Esq; Sir *William Wyndham*, Sir *William Yonge*, Lord *Polwarth*, *Samuel Sandys*, Esq; Sir *John Barnard*, and several other eminent members were appointed managers, who being come to the place of conference, Sir *William Wyndham* deliver’d to the committee of Lords a copy of the resolution which the Commons had come to, beginning in this manner, *viz. It is resolv’d by and Commons in Parliament assembled, &c.*

Upon which the Commons withdrew to their house, and Sir *William Wyndham*, reported to the house from the committee of conference what they had done.

Next day, a message came from the Lords desiring a conference with the Commons. Upon which

which the conference was order'd, and the same managers who managed the last, appointed for this. The managers then went to the conference, and the Lords acquainted them that they agreed to the resolution, and had accordingly fill'd up the blank in the copy of it, which the Commons had left the day before, with the words, *Lords spiritual and temporal*. This being over, the managers return'd to the house, and Sir *William Wyndham* reported what had pass'd, speaking at the same time to the following effect:

‘ Sir, When we first agreed to this great and
 ‘ important resolution, I congratulated this house
 ‘ upon its unanimity; now, Sir, I congratulate his
 ‘ Majesty, the Parliament, the nation, and the mi-
 ‘ nistry, upon the concurrence of the other house.
 ‘ Let our ministers, Sir, carry this resolution to
 ‘ the court of *France*, that she may know what she
 ‘ is to expect if she shou’d interpose in favour of
 ‘ the enemies of this nation, either with her me-
 ‘ diation, or her arms. Let them carry it, Sir, to
 ‘ every court in *Europe* that has not yet declared
 ‘ itself, to let them see, Sir, that we are at length
 ‘ roused from our lethargy, and determined to
 ‘ demand and insist upon the most rigid justice.
 ‘ This will teach such of them who are inclined to
 ‘ take the part of our enemies what they may ex-
 ‘ pect, and will convince our friends that our eyes
 ‘ are at last opened to our true interests. It will
 ‘ confirm our friends, and intimidate our enemies.’

*Sir William
 Wyndham's
 speech after
 the confe-
 rence with
 the Lords.*

This address was accordingly presented to his Majesty by both houses on the *Friday* following, and his Majesty returned the following most gracious answer:

His Majesty's answer to this address.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Thank you for this dutiful address, which is so agreeable to former resolutions of both houses of Parliament. Your unanimous and vigorous support in carrying on the war, will be the best means of procuring safe and honourable terms of peace; and you may rely on my utmost care and endeavour, to obtain effectual security for the just rights of navigation and commerce belonging to my subjects.

Tuesday, November 27, Samuel Sandys, Esq; stood up, and spoke to this effect:

Mr. Sandys's speech and motion for raising the marines in the most frugal manner.

Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, His Majesty, in his speech from the throne, having been so gracious as to tell us, that he had called us together, at this time, sooner than has been usual of late years, that he might have the immediate advice and assistance of his Parliament at this critical and important conjuncture, I, from thence, thought it was the duty of every member of this house, to consider our present circumstances, and, if he could think of any thing that might contribute to our success in the present war, to lay it before the house, that, in case it should be approved of, it might be offered as the advice of this house to his Majesty.

‘ For this reason, Sir, I hope I shall stand excused, in what I am to offer to your consideration; for, I think, no gentleman can be accused of presumption, when he does no more than what is his indispensable duty, and what his Majesty has told us he expects from us, as members of this house. We have already in one instance answered his Majesty's expectations. We have laid before him the advice of his Parliament, with respect to the conclusion of the war. What I am to offer, relates to the method of conducting

‘ ing it. If the advice I am to offer, be approved
‘ of by this house, I am convinced it will be fol-
‘ lowed by his Majesty; and, if it be followed, it
‘ will contribute towards the war’s being brought
‘ to that conclusion, which we have advised his
‘ Majesty to aim at.

‘ In the prosecution of this war, Sir, there are
‘ two things chiefly to be regarded. That is, the
‘ carrying the war on in such a manner, as may be
‘ most effectual for compelling the enemy to sub-
‘ mit to reasonable terms of peace, and the carry-
‘ ing it on in such a manner as may be least bur-
‘ denfome, and least inconvenient to ourselves.

‘ From this consideration, Sir, I cannot but
‘ highly approve of what his Majesty has likewise
‘ been pleased to communicate to us from the
‘ throne: I mean the raising of a body of marines.
‘ At the beginning of every war, we must neces-
‘ sarily be in some distress for want of seamen;
‘ because, in time of peace, no more men will
‘ breed themselves up to sea, than are necessary
‘ for supplying the merchant-service, and the few
‘ guard-ships and men of war we keep in com-
‘ mission in a time of profound tranquillity; which
‘ must of course occasion a deficiency of seamen,
‘ when a war first breaks out; especially after the
‘ nation has been, for a great number of years,
‘ in a continued state of peace. This deficiency,
‘ which proceeds from the natural course of human
‘ affairs, we can no way supply at the beginning
‘ of a war, but by sending a body of land soldiers
‘ or marines, to serve on board our men of war;
‘ unless we should, for the sake of supplying our
‘ men of war with all thorough-bred seamen, put
‘ an entire stop to our trade, which ought never
‘ to be done, but in the case of imminent danger
‘ from an impending invasion.

‘ This is a danger, Sir, which is far from being
‘ the certain consequence of every war we can be

‘ engaged in; and therefore, at the beginning of
‘ every war which is not attended with any such
‘ danger, as we have then no occasion for keeping
‘ up a large body of land forces at home, we
‘ ought to indulge our trade, by sending land men,
‘ or land soldiers, to serve as marines on board our
‘ men of war, in order thereby to leave a sufficient
‘ supply of expert seamen for our merchant-service,
‘ and for carrying on our trade; for, as it is not
‘ our interest to make any conquests upon the con-
‘ tinent of *Europe*, the protection of our trade is
‘ the only motive, peculiar to ourselves, that we
‘ can have for going to war; and it would be very
‘ ridiculous in us to carry on a war for the pro-
‘ tection of our trade, in such a manner as to de-
‘ stroy it. And this, of putting a great number
‘ of land soldiers, by way of marines, on board
‘ our men of war, is the more prudent and the
‘ more necessary, because, as few of our merchant
‘ ships carry more men than are barely sufficient
‘ for navigating the ship, they can employ none
‘ but expert seamen; whereas a man of war does
‘ not require above one half, or one third, of her
‘ complement, to be thorough-bred seamen. With
‘ regard to the other half, or two thirds, as they
‘ are to be employed in fighting, and are not ne-
‘ cessary for navigating the ship, land men may,
‘ in a few days, be made as fit for the service, as
‘ the most expert seamen whatever; and, if those
‘ land men be such as have been bred to military
‘ discipline, they will be better, and more useful
‘ for making invasions and incursions upon the
‘ enemy at land, than the most expert seamen,
‘ very few of whom are ever bred to that sort of
‘ discipline, which is necessary to be observed in
‘ land engagements.

‘ Every gentleman must therefore highly ap-
‘ prove of his Majesty’s having resolved to raise
‘ a body of marines; and the manner of raising
‘ this

‘ this body of marines, is what I am now to propose to you for your consideration. In my opinion, Sir, this body of marines ought to be raised by making proper draughts out of the regular regiments now on foot in *Britain* and *Ireland*; because, I think, a body of marines raised in this manner, will be more useful against the enemy, and not only less expensive, but more convenient to ourselves, than a body of raw, undisciplined men, newly raised for that purpose. As the *Spaniards* have no trade, and very few ships at sea, we cannot propose to force them to agree to such terms as we can safely or honourably accept of, unless we attack them at land, in some part of their dominions. I think we ought to attack them in every part. When I say so, I do not mean, that we should endeavour to make a conquest of any part of their dominions in *Europe*; but, I think, we ought to have a fleet, with five or six thousand marines and land forces, continually hovering about the coasts of *Spain*, and making invasions at every place, where they can find a proper opportunity; for notwithstanding the numerous land army now kept up in that country, they cannot have five or six thousand men at every place where our troops may land, and therefore, with such a body of land forces, we may plunder and destroy many parts of their country, and keep their maritime provinces in a continual alarm; and, for this purpose, I am sure a body of marines drawn from our regular, and, I hope, well-disciplined regiments, will be much more serviceable, than a body of marines composed of raw and undisciplined men.

‘ As for the *Spanish* dominions in *America*, Sir, I believe no man questions but that we ought to attack them. We ought not only to attack them, but we ought to take and hold

‘ some of them, for the future security of our
‘ trade in that part of the world ; and, if disci-
‘ plined troops are not better than raw and undisc-
‘ ciplined men for that purpose, I am sure, we
‘ have been at a great expence in keeping up a
‘ numerous army for many years to no purpose.
‘ I indeed wonder, that a large detachment of
‘ our regular troops has not been already sent into
‘ that country. In my opinion, if we had con-
‘ sidered what we were about, or what was the
‘ most probable and effectual way, either of
‘ distressing the enemy or gaining an advantage to
‘ ourselves, we should have begun hostilities, by
‘ sending a well provided squadron and army to
‘ *America*. This we might have done without
‘ declaring war. It was time enough to declare
‘ war, when they were arrived there, and ready
‘ to attack the enemy. If we had done this,
‘ we might in a short time, perhaps before now,
‘ have been in possession of what would have
‘ forced *Spain* to agree to our terms.

‘ But this, Sir, is time past, which is not to
‘ be recalled ; let us therefore look forward and
‘ do the best we can, in time to come. I have
‘ shewn, that a body of marines drawn from our
‘ regular regiments, will be the most serviceable
‘ for attacking the enemy, and ’tis certain, that
‘ this method will be the least expensive, and
‘ most convenient for ourselves. By this method,
‘ the additional charge will be but very incon-
‘ siderable ; and the country will be freed from
‘ the inconvenience and expence of quartering a
‘ great number of useless troops. I say useless,
‘ Sir, and, I think, I may most justly say so ;
‘ for, in a war with *Spain*, every man that is
‘ kept in this island, above the number that is
‘ absolutely necessary, in a time of the most pro-
‘ found tranquillity, must be allowed to be use-
‘ less. We cannot be in the least danger of an
‘ invasion

‘ invasion from that country, considering the pre-
‘ sent circumstances of the two nations. We
‘ were never more united amongst ourselves, than
‘ we are at present. There is a most general,
‘ and, I am sure, a most just indignation against
‘ the *Spaniards*, stirred up in every corner of the
‘ three kingdoms, and among all ranks and de-
‘ grees of men ; and therefore, we can be in no
‘ danger of an invasion from thence, unless it
‘ were to be made with such a number of troops
‘ as would be sufficient to conquer the three king-
‘ doms. This we know they cannot accomplish :
‘ There is not in all *Spain*, ships enough for
‘ transporting such a number of troops ; and, if
‘ they had ships, they could not, in the whole
‘ kingdom of *Spain*, find provisions enough for
‘ victualling such a numerous fleet of transports.

‘ We can therefore, Sir, have no use for such
‘ a numerous army here at home ; and, since we
‘ have no use for them here at home, for this
‘ reason alone, if we had no other, we ought to
‘ send a great number of them to serve as ma-
‘ rines on board our men of war. But, I have
‘ already shewn, that they must be of more ser-
‘ vice both at sea and land, than raw, undisci-
‘ plined men can be supposed to be ; and there-
‘ fore, I shall add no more, but conclude with
‘ moving, “ That an humble address be present-
‘ ed to his Majesty, humbly to lay before him,
‘ as the advice of this house, that he would be
‘ pleased to give directions, that the body of
‘ marines intended to be raised, may be done in
‘ the most frugal manner, and put upon the least
‘ expensive establishment, by having as many
‘ private men, and as few officers, as the nature
‘ of the service will admit ; œconomy at first
‘ setting out, being absolutely necessary to enable
‘ us to support his Majesty in the vigorous pro-
‘ secution of this war ; and as draughts from the

“ present regiments of foot, which are all equally
 “ proper to be employed, either by land or sea,
 “ will be attended with the least expence, as well
 “ as be most expeditious for any immediate ser-
 “ vice, humbly to recommend that method to
 “ his Majesty, in tender compassion to his peo-
 “ ple, already burdened with many heavy and
 “ grievous taxes; and, to assure his Majesty,
 “ whenever he shall judge it necessary to encrease
 “ the corps, from whence such draughts are
 “ made, that his faithful Commons will most
 “ readily enable him to do it; being fully con-
 “ vinced, that their safety, and all that is dear to
 “ them, consist in the preservation of his Ma-
 “ jesty and the Protestant succession.”

This motion was seconded by *Philip Gibbon, Esq;* who spoke to this effect, *viz,*

‘ Mr. Speaker,

*Mr. Gibbon's
speech.*

‘ Sir, The method proposed by my honourable
 ‘ friend for raising or forming a body of marines,
 ‘ I always thought so reasonable, that when the
 ‘ regiments were last summer brought from *Ire-*
 ‘ *land*, I imagined they were brought over for
 ‘ that very purpose; and therefore, could not
 ‘ but be in some sort of surprize to hear such
 ‘ complaints for want of seamen, and to see our
 ‘ trade so much interrupted and distressed by
 ‘ pressing and embargoes, whilst these regiments,
 ‘ and all our other regiments of foot in *Great*
 ‘ *Britain*, were lying idle in their quarters, and
 ‘ oppressing all the inns and other publick houses
 ‘ in the kingdom. Nay, even when I heard, by
 ‘ his Majesty’s speech from the throne, that we
 ‘ were to have a body of marines, I still imagi-
 ‘ ned, they were to be raised by sending some of
 ‘ our foot regiments, or detachments from all of
 ‘ them, to serve on board our ships of war; and
 ‘ this

‘ this continued to be my opinion, till I saw the
‘ estimates which have been delivered in to this
‘ session of Parliament.

‘ But, Sir, when I saw these estimates, I was
‘ astonished to find, that what was to be called a
‘ body of marines, was to consist of six regiments
‘ of land forces, all to be new raised, and to con-
‘ sist mostly of men never trained to any sort of
‘ martial discipline either at land or sea. This
‘ certainly is loading the publick with a very
‘ great, and, in my opinion, a very unnecessary
‘ additional charge, and it is forming a new body
‘ of land forces, which are not, I hope, to be
‘ employed as marines, or in any other manner
‘ sent against the enemy; for surely, if we have
‘ a mind to prosecute the war with vigour, if we
‘ expect, or intend to have success in the war,
‘ we ought to employ our oldest and best corps in
‘ the prosecution of it, and keep our youngest,
‘ or new-raised regiments at home, till they have
‘ made themselves so much masters of military
‘ discipline, as to be fit to be employed against
‘ the publick enemy. This was the method we
‘ took in the prosecution of the last war: We
‘ were not then so much terrified with invasions,
‘ though we were often threatned with them, by
‘ an enemy that had some sort of power to put
‘ such threats in execution; I say, we were not
‘ then so much terrified with such phantoms, as
‘ to keep our best troops at home to defend us
‘ from them. If we had, we should not have
‘ had such success in the war abroad, and if we
‘ had been unsuccessful abroad, the danger of an
‘ invasion at home, would have become not only
‘ real but irresistible.

‘ If it be really necessary to raise new regiments
‘ of land forces, let them be raised upon the same
‘ footing with the other land forces, in order to
‘ replace those that are to be sent against the ene-

‘ my,

‘ my, or employed on board our ships of war.
 ‘ Even this would save the publick some of that
 ‘ expence I find calculated in the estimate, for the
 ‘ six new regiments, which are to be called ma-
 ‘ rines. But do not let us send raw and undisci-
 ‘ plined men upon any expedition against the ene-
 ‘ my, when we have such a number of old regi-
 ‘ ments, that must be allowed to be more fit for
 ‘ that purpose. These we ought to send abroad,
 ‘ even supposing that we were in immediate dan-
 ‘ ger of being invaded with a formidable number
 ‘ of troops, and therefore obliged to keep such a
 ‘ numerous land army at home as we now have in
 ‘ *Britain and Ireland*; because by carrying the
 ‘ war to the doors of our enemy, we may pre-
 ‘ vent its being brought to our own. But, as I
 ‘ think we neither are, nor can be in any such
 ‘ danger, as long as *Spain* continues alone in the
 ‘ war against us, I cannot think we have as yet
 ‘ any occasion for raising any new regiments:
 ‘ I must think, we can spare, out of those we
 ‘ have now upon the establishment, a sufficient
 ‘ number for our ships of war, and likewise for
 ‘ invading the enemy both in *Europe* and *Ameri-*
 ‘ *ca*; and therefore I shall conclude with second-
 ‘ ing the motion, which my worthy friend has
 ‘ been pleased to make.’

Sir *William Yonge* then stood up, and spoke in effect thus.

‘ Mr. Speaker,

Sir *William*
Yonge's
speech.

‘ Sir, I have often heard that, according to
 ‘ the old maxim of our constitution, the King is
 ‘ invested with the sole power of making peace
 ‘ and war; but from the late conduct of some
 ‘ gentlemen in this house, I begin to doubt whe-
 ‘ ther this ought to be allowed as a maxim in our
 ‘ constitution. There are some amongst us who,
 ‘ of

‘ of late years, have taken upon them to pre-
‘ scribe to his Majesty not only when, but how
‘ he is to make both peace and war. In last ses-
‘ sion, there were amongst us, many gentlemen
‘ who seemed willing to prescribe to his Majesty,
‘ when he was to make war: In this session, we
‘ have already, by an address, prescribed to him
‘ how he is to make peace, and now it is propo-
‘ sed, that, by another address, we should pre-
‘ scribe to him how he is to make war. Our last ad-
‘ dress, though I could not think it altogether so de-
‘ cent, I did not oppose, because I saw no bad con-
‘ sequences it could be attended with, and because
‘ I believed, that what was thereby recommended,
‘ was what his Majesty had previously resolved
‘ on, as a rule from which he was not to depart,
‘ in any future treaty of peace; and as I did not
‘ then oppose it, I shall not now find fault with it,
‘ especially, since it is now become the act of this
‘ house, by being unanimously agreed to; for
‘ I shall never indulge myself in that liberty,
‘ which is too often taken by others, of finding
‘ fault with any thing that has once had the
‘ sanction of this assembly.

‘ But as to the address now proposed, Sir, I
‘ shall be extremely sorry, if it should be approved
‘ of by the majority of this house. Let it be con-
‘ sidered in what light you will, it is such a one as
‘ I must oppose. If it be considered as a rule to
‘ be prescribed to his Majesty, with regard to the
‘ methods of carrying on the war, I must look
‘ upon it as disrespectful to the crown, and an u-
‘ surping of a province, which, by our constitu-
‘ tion, does not belong to this house. And if it
‘ is to be considered as an advice humbly offered
‘ to the crown by this house, I must be against it,
‘ because I think it would be a very bad advice,
‘ and such a one as might be attended with the
‘ most fatal consequences. But, suppose it did not
‘ appear

‘ appear so to me, suppose I could not determine
‘ whether the advice be right or wrong, yet I
‘ should oppose it, because I shall always think it
‘ wrong in us, and inconsistent with the dignity of
‘ this house, to pretend to give advice in any case,
‘ where it is impossible for us to be proper judges.
‘ We may judge of national rights, and may ad-
‘ vise his Majesty not to agree to any terms of
‘ peace, unless those rights be fully established;
‘ but, it is impossible for us to judge of the proper
‘ methods for prosecuting a war, or of the number
‘ or nature of the troops that ought to be employ-
‘ ed in that prosecution. It is impossible for us to
‘ be competent judges in this respect, without
‘ knowing all that secret intelligence, both from
‘ *Spain*, and from the other parts of *Europe*, which
‘ his Majesty, and those chiefly employed by him,
‘ may be supposed to be masters of; and this, I
‘ think, no gentleman that wishes well to his
‘ country, would desire to be laid before us. If it
‘ were, we could not expect to make any future
‘ advantage of that intelligence, and much less
‘ could we expect to have any more such intelli-
‘ gence; for it generally comes from those, who
‘ would never give any such, if they thought it
‘ could ever be discovered from whence it came;
‘ which would soon be the case, if it were to be
‘ laid before such a numerous assembly.

‘ Thus, I think, Sir, it is evident, that though
‘ the advice now proposed should even appear to
‘ us to be right, it would be wrong in us to offer
‘ it; but, from the confidence I have in his Ma-
‘ jesty’s wisdom and conduct, the advice itself must
‘ appear to me to be wrong. I very well know,
‘ that publick œconomy and frugality are fine to-
‘ picks for gentlemen to harangue upon. Frugality
‘ in the management of publick affairs will always,
‘ I know, be a most popular pretence for finding
‘ fault with, and traducing the conduct of mini-
‘ sters;

sters; and I shall readily grant, that it is in itself a very commendable thing. But it must be allowed, that it may be pushed too far; and then it becomes ridiculous. It then deviates into that contemptible quality called miserlynefs; which in publick as well as private life may prove the ruin of those that are governed by it. Such men often allow themselves to be destroyed, rather than be at the expence of saving themselves. *Quid refert morbo, an furtis, pereamne rapinis?* was the reflection long since put into the mouth of a miser, who would not be at the expence of purchasing the medicines that were proper for removing a most dangerous distemper. War, I look on as a national distemper, and it is always a dangerous one. The proper medicines, are fleets and armies. If you will not be at the expence of providing those medicines, you must be destroyed; and, if you do not provide a sufficient dose, those you are at the expence of, lose their effect, and you ruin yourself into the bargain.

This, I take to be our present dispute. For my own part, Sir, I do not pretend to know, what number or what sort of troops may be necessary, either for our safe-guard at home, or for attacking the enemy abroad; because, I neither know the danger we are in, nor how our enemies are provided to repel our attack. But I presume, and, I think, I ought to presume, that his Majesty is well acquainted with both; and therefore, I am willing to submit to his judgment, both as to the number and quality of the troops that are to be employed, either for our safeguard at home, or for attacking our enemies abroad. This, I think, is a submission which is the duty of every subject; but with regard to the nature or quality of the troops to be sent abroad, or kept at home, I think we must conclude, even from the nature of the thing, that, if we are in danger of being invaded,

‘ invaded, our best troops ought to be kept at
‘ home for our defence. The circumstances of the
‘ present war, are very different from those of the
‘ great war in the Queen’s time. We had then a
‘ numerous and powerful alliance: Our enemies
‘ were attacked in their own dominions, with as
‘ numerous armies as they could provide for their
‘ defence; so that they could not spare an army
‘ for invading us: The troops we sent abroad,
‘ went but a little way off from this island, and
‘ therefore could be recalled at a short warning.
‘ All these circumstances are now directly other-
‘ wise; and therefore we cannot, in prudence,
‘ hold the same conduct. But, if our conduct in
‘ that war, or in any other war we were ever en-
‘ gaged in, is to be a rule for our conduct in this,
‘ I am sure, we cannot agree to the present mo-
‘ tion. In the war in the late Queen’s time, we
‘ were so far from making draughts from our old
‘ regiments, for the service of our navy, that we
‘ not only raised six regiments of marines, but also
‘ six regiments of land soldiers, to serve on board
‘ our ships of war. I believe, no precedent can
‘ be shewn for what is now proposed: I am con-
‘ vinced no example can be found, of our having
‘ ever made draughts from regular, well-disciplined
‘ regiments, in order to employ them as marines
‘ on board our navy. I must beg leave, Sir, to
‘ say, that, in my opinion, it would be ridiculous;
‘ for, I cannot but think, that new-raised troops
‘ are as good on board a man of war, as well-dis-
‘ ciplined soldiers. In fighting a ship, there are
‘ no marches or counter-marches: There is no
‘ part of the land discipline required, but that of
‘ loading and firing the musket; and a country
‘ fellow from the plough, may, in three days, be
‘ taught to do this as adroitly as the most expert
‘ soldier in the army.

‘ It

‘ It seems to be granted of all sides, Sir, that
‘ the raising of a body of marines is necessary.
‘ The only question is, whether that body should
‘ be formed by making draughts from, and conse-
‘ quently diminishing our army, or by raising new
‘ corps for that purpose; and, the determination
‘ of this question, must depend upon the danger
‘ we seem to be in, of being attacked at home. I
‘ should think we are in some such danger, if it
‘ were for no other reason but because his Majesty
‘ seems to think, that we ought not to diminish
‘ our army; but there are, in my opinion, several
‘ other very sufficient reasons for thinking so. I
‘ shall admit, that *Spain* cannot invade us with
‘ such an army as would be sufficient for conquer-
‘ ing the three kingdoms; but, even *Spain* may
‘ invade us with such an army as may be sufficient
‘ for stirring up a civil war in every one of the
‘ three kingdoms. We appear, ’tis true, at present,
‘ very much united amongst ourselves; but, I
‘ doubt much if we are so. There are still great
‘ numbers of men, in every one of the three king-
‘ doms, disaffected to his Majesty and his Family.
‘ This disaffection, all such of them as have any
‘ wisdom, will take care not to shew, till they have
‘ a good opportunity: They will appear united,
‘ and will join with the rest of their countrymen,
‘ in the general and just out-cry against the *Spani-*
‘ *ards*; but, if even a small body of *Spanish* troops
‘ were landed in their neighbourhood, they would
‘ soon change their note: They would then take
‘ off the mask, and would join with that body in
‘ endeavouring to force the Pretender upon us.
‘ Thus the flames of a civil war would be blown
‘ up in the kingdom, and whilst we were engaged
‘ in a civil war at home, I believe it will be allow-
‘ ed, that we could not prosecute the war with
‘ vigour abroad.

‘ I must, upon this occasion, Sir, observe, that
‘ ministers are generally treated in a manner not
‘ quite so candid. With regard to dangers, and
‘ preparations against those dangers, it is impossible
‘ for them to guard against those who are willing
‘ to find fault with their conduct. If impending
‘ dangers are prevented from falling upon the na-
‘ tion, by the preparations our ministers make a-
‘ gainst them, which, I have good reason to be-
‘ lieve, has often been the case within these twenty
‘ years, it is then asserted, with great confidence,
‘ by those who have a mind to find fault, that no
‘ such dangers ever existed; and, that therefore,
‘ the nation was put to a needless expence, by
‘ those preparations that were made for preventing
‘ them. On the other hand, if any danger or
‘ misfortune should actually fall upon the nation,
‘ though proceeding from the most sudden, un-
‘ foreseen, and unexpected cause, which, thank
‘ God! has not been our case for these twenty
‘ years, it would then be pretended, that the dan-
‘ ger or misfortune might easily have been fore-
‘ seen, and our ministers would be blamed for not
‘ having foreseen and provided against it. In our
‘ present case, the dangers of this war may blow
‘ over, we may at last force *Spain* to agree to rea-
‘ sonable terms, without being invaded by that
‘ power, or attack’d by any other power in *Eu-*
‘ *rope*; and, if this should be our good fortune,
‘ as I hope it will, I shall expect to hear warm
‘ harangues against the needless expence the nation
‘ was put to during the war, by maintaining
‘ greater armies and squadrons than were necessary
‘ in a war against *Spain*. But, I shall never allow
‘ such harangues to have any effect upon me. I
‘ believe, we are now in no great danger of being
‘ invaded by *Spain*. I hope, we are in no great
‘ danger of being attack’d, during this war, by
‘ any other power in *Europe*; but, I am fully
‘ convinced,

‘ convinced, that this happy security proceeds
‘ from the preparations we have made, and the
‘ measures we have taken. At the beginning of
‘ the rupture, *Spain* seemed to have some view of
‘ invading us. This we must suppose, from their
‘ having marched so many of their troops into
‘ *Gallicia*, which is the province that lies next to
‘ and most convenient for invading *Britain*, or
‘ *Ireland*. By the preparations we have made,
‘ they now see, they cannot carry their design into
‘ execution; but, if we should diminish our army,
‘ by sending a great number of our troops to serve
‘ on board our men of war, or to attack the *Spa-*
‘ *nish* dominions either in *Europe* or *America*, they
‘ would certainly resume their first design, and
‘ might land such a body of troops, as, with the
‘ conjunction of the disaffected at home, might
‘ stir up a dangerous conflict in the very bowels of
‘ our own dominions; and in that case, I do not
‘ know but that those very gentlemen who are
‘ now for sending our troops out, would reflect
‘ upon our ministers, for having advised his Ma-
‘ jesty to comply with their request. They would
‘ then of course say, that our ministers ought to
‘ have known better than they, and that they
‘ ought to have informed them of the danger, in
‘ which case they would not have made such a
‘ request.

‘ This, Sir, might be the consequence of our
‘ diminishing our army, with regard to *Spain*; but
‘ there is another danger we lie exposed to, and
‘ which we ought to guard against. *Spain* is as
‘ yet alone in the war against us, and while she
‘ continues so, I hope, we may with reason flatter
‘ ourselves, that she will find herself very unequal-
‘ ly matched; but, there are other powers in *Eu-*
‘ *rope* who would be glad to see this nation hum-
‘ bled, and consequently would be glad of an op-
‘ portunity for bringing it about. If we should

‘ leave ourselves defenceless at home, it might encourage them to join with *Spain* against us; for, the first effect of that confederacy would certainly be, an attempt to invade this kingdom. For this reason, we ought to be so much upon our guard, as to be prepared against all possible events. Nay, I do not know, but that the preparations we have made, and the other wise measures his Majesty has been pleased to take, are the chief cause of *Spain*’s being yet alone in the war against us.

‘ From these considerations, Sir, I must be of opinion, that this motion really is, humbly to desire his Majesty, that he would be pleased to leave his kingdoms defenceless, and our present happy establishment again exposed to the doubtful chance of a civil war. It has been once already exposed to this chance; and, we must still reflect with terror, that the scales were pretty near equal, though the disaffected had then no foreign assistance, nor were so much as countenanced by any potentate in *Europe*. God knows what might be the consequence, if a body of foreign veterans were thrown into the rebel scale, and the rebels countenanced and supported by one at least, perhaps by two of the most formidable potentates in *Europe*. I am far from thinking, Sir, that the honourable gentleman who made, or the honourable gentleman who seconded this motion, had any bad intention, or that they viewed their motion in the light I do; but as I view it in the light I have mentioned, I must think it would, in me, be contrary to my allegiance to agree to it.’

The next speech we shall give, was that made by *George Lyttleton*, Esq; who spoke upon this occasion in substance as follows, viz.

‘ Mr.

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, I hope I need make no professions of my attachment to the King and his Family. The
‘ honour and duty I owe to their persons (though
‘ no man living has more) are yet the least and
‘ weakest bonds to confirm that attachment. It is
‘ the constitution of my country, which they came
‘ to preserve, that ties my allegiance to them, for
‘ the sake of the whole. This, Sir, is my principle; and upon this, I hope, I may found as high
‘ pretensions to zeal for their service and glory,
‘ and for the support of his Majesty’s government
‘ against all his open and secret enemies, and be
‘ believed as sincere and warm in them, as any
‘ gentleman here. And therefore, if I could think,
‘ that my compliance with the motion made by
‘ my worthy friend, could possibly affect the security of his Majesty’s crown, by leaving him without a proper defence, the honourable gentleman
‘ himself could not be more averse to it than I.
‘ But sure, Sir, out of an army of twenty eight or
‘ twenty nine thousand men, draughts might be
‘ made for our sea-service, without leaving the
‘ kingdom defenceless. Sure, there would remain
‘ disciplined troops enough to secure us till recruits
‘ could be raised. If the honourable gentleman
‘ thinks not, it is the worst compliment that ever
‘ was made to the army.

Mr. Lyttleton’s speech.

‘ No man can be more zealous than I, for
‘ strengthening his Majesty’s hands as much as is
‘ possible; but, upon the same principle from
‘ which I declare for supporting the war, from the
‘ same principle from which I shall agree to the
‘ number of men ask’d by his ministers, I am for
‘ raising them in the manner that has been proposed by this motion. We may play with words
‘ as we please, but this and marines that are to be
‘ raised, are no more marines than every regiment

‘ of foot in the kingdom: The only difference is,
 ‘ that the new-raised men will have all their busi-
 ‘ nefs to learn, whereas, the others have learn’d
 ‘ half of it, and are ready at hand; the laft are
 ‘ foldiers though not failors, but the others are
 ‘ neither foldiers nor failors, and to make them
 ‘ either, will take up a great deal of time; fo that
 ‘ if there is any fervice to be done by them, it is
 ‘ very evident which we fhould chufe. If you
 ‘ had a journey to make, and fix good horfes well
 ‘ in the ftable, would you ftay to buy and break
 ‘ fix new ones before you fet out?

‘ But to talk of this thing upon the foot of the
 ‘ expence of it alone; as the nation gives where-
 ‘ ever it ought, this miniftry fhould fave wherever
 ‘ they can. We are moft willing to furnifh his
 ‘ Majefty with all the money his fervice requires;
 ‘ but certainly, Sir, we have not more than we
 ‘ want, and therefore good œconomy, though it
 ‘ be at all times a neceffary virtue, is more indif-
 ‘ penfably fo now, when our expences muft be fo
 ‘ great, and when we may feel the lofs of every
 ‘ fhilling that we throw idly away, in fome effen-
 ‘ tial fervice that may fuffer for want of it. Sir,
 ‘ God forbid that in a war like the prefent, which
 ‘ our minifters did not enter into lightly or wan-
 ‘ tonly, but in mere conformity to the known fen-
 ‘ timents and defires of the nation, God forbid
 ‘ that, if any finifter accident, any misfortune
 ‘ fhould happen, they fhould be charged with it,
 ‘ or be to anfwer for any event which, it fhall ap-
 ‘ pear, they could not command; but, what they
 ‘ are juftly refponfible for is, that the publick mo-
 ‘ ney fhould not be fquandered; and, if in any
 ‘ particular it be found, that they have failed in
 ‘ this part of their duty, that they have not ad-
 ‘ vifed his Majefty with a due regard to this prin-
 ‘ ciple, then fhould this great council interpoze,
 ‘ and give fuch advice, as they owe to their King
 ‘ and

‘ and country in this important conjuncture; and,
‘ in this light, I see the motion made by my ho-
‘ nourable friend.

‘ But, it is not only the expence, present or fu-
‘ ture, the needless pay of so many officers, their
‘ half-pay hereafter, pay-master, deputies, and all
‘ the rest of that equipage, it is not only this
‘ which we have to consider: There is another
‘ point before us of still greater importance. What,
‘ Sir, at a time when the whole nation is so strong-
‘ ly alarmed at the influence attending so many
‘ places, civil and military, without any colour of
‘ necessity, against all rules of œconomy, wantonly
‘ to add to that influence, to create new places, new
‘ dependences! How will this be thought of, how
‘ will this appear to the world? Won’t it look like
‘ taking advantage, an unfair, indecent advantage,
‘ of the generous confidence placed in his Majesty
‘ by his people and Parliament, upon all demands
‘ made by him for the support of this war, to en-
‘ crease that power in the crown, from the growth
‘ of which they dread so many mischiefs?

‘ Sir, not for the present only, but for all our
‘ future deliberations concerning supplies, there is
‘ one caution I beg leave to recommend to this
‘ house, and that is, always to have it in our
‘ thoughts, that to a free constitution of govern-
‘ ment, there is no season so dangerous, as the
‘ time of a popular war; for, it has been in the
‘ heat of such wars, that almost all free states, an-
‘ cient and modern, have been induced to make
‘ concessions, wink at incroachments, and establish
‘ precedents, that have ended afterwards in the
‘ entire loss of their liberties. Sir, I hope the very
‘ reverse will happen here, and that we shall, at
‘ the same time, attend to the recovery of such of
‘ our rights as have been invaded abroad, and to
‘ the securing of such as may have been weakened
‘ at home. I think it is the design of this motion,

‘ to prevent our being in danger, from the further
 ‘ increase of influence, of their being weakened
 ‘ yet more.

‘ As to the practice of former times, it must be
 ‘ considered, that we never had any thing like
 ‘ such an army at home in these kingdoms before,
 ‘ and therefore large draughts out of the forces
 ‘ here, could not have been made then, so safely
 ‘ as now; the remainder would not have been a
 ‘ sufficient guard to us till recruits could be raised:
 ‘ But, I apprehend, we may make such draughts
 ‘ in full security now; and this, I think a sufficient
 ‘ answer to what was said by the honourable gen-
 ‘ tleman who spoke last. Sir, I shall trouble you
 ‘ no farther now, but heartily concur with this
 ‘ motion.’

Henry Fox, Esq; spoke next to the following
 effect, *viz.*

Mr. Fox's
 speech.

‘ Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ Sir, It is a general observation in all debates,
 ‘ that those who speak upon the right side of the
 ‘ question, are generally the most moderate and
 ‘ cool in the argument; and this, I think, was
 ‘ never more apparent, than in the present debate.
 ‘ When I first heard the motion, I thought it was
 ‘ a motion that could not possibly occasion any
 ‘ heat or animosity amongst us; but in this respect
 ‘ I find myself disappointed, as I have often been
 ‘ upon the like occasions; for some of those that
 ‘ have spoke in favour of the motion, have been
 ‘ pleased, I think most unnecessarily, to make use
 ‘ of some very warm expressions. As the present
 ‘ question can, in no light, be considered any other
 ‘ way than as a dispute about the most proper
 ‘ method for raising or forming a body of marines,
 ‘ I can see no reason gentlemen have for running
 ‘ themselves into a heat upon the subject, or for
 ‘ making

‘ making use of any warm reflections against those,
‘ who differ from them in opinion; and I am sure,
‘ if gentlemen would keep close to the subject,
‘ and take care to make no excursions into matters
‘ that have no relation to it, the debate would be
‘ soon exhausted; because I must think it a debate
‘ quite foreign to any thing that can properly come
‘ this day before us.

‘ No gentleman, I find, Sir, has questioned its
‘ being necessary for us to raise or form a body of
‘ marines. If this had been the question, we might
‘ have taken it into consideration, even before we
‘ had read or considered any of the estimates for
‘ the ensuing year; but the present debate, I must
‘ look upon as anticipating the consideration of the
‘ estimates laid before us for the service of the en-
‘ suing year, before they have been read, I believe,
‘ by any gentleman in this house; for if a body of
‘ marines is to be formed, it must be formed either
‘ by raising new corps for that purpose, or by em-
‘ ploying some of the regiments we have already on
‘ foot in that service. If you chuse the latter me-
‘ thod, you diminish the number of land forces that
‘ are to be kept up for the ensuing year; and is not
‘ this, therefore, debating the question about the
‘ number of land forces necessary to be kept up for
‘ the service of the ensuing year, before you have
‘ so much as read the estimate of the charge of the
‘ guards, garisons, and other his Majesty’s land
‘ forces, for the year 1740, which was but yester-
‘ day laid before you? Some gentlemen, who are
‘ more diligent than I, may perhaps already have
‘ cast their eye upon this estimate, but I must con-
‘ fess, that I have not so much as look’d at it;
‘ and considering its being so lately laid before us,
‘ and that there was no probability of its coming
‘ under our consideration before to-morrow, I can-
‘ not, in this respect, accuse myself of any neglect
‘ of duty. But whatever may be in this, whether

‘ I be guilty of a neglect or no, as I have not seen
 ‘ the estimate, I cannot take upon me to deter-
 ‘ mine, whether the address proposed be proper
 ‘ or not, and therefore I cannot at present agree to
 ‘ it.

‘ This, Sir, must with me be a prevailing reason
 ‘ for being now against the motion, and ought, I
 ‘ think, to be so with every gentleman that is in
 ‘ the same circumstances with me, whatever they
 ‘ may be hereafter; but there is another reason, a
 ‘ reason arising from our usual form of proceed-
 ‘ ings, that makes me against the motion at pre-
 ‘ sent. I think it was wrong to introduce such a
 ‘ motion, and it would be more wrong to enter
 ‘ into the merits of it, whilst we are in a house.
 ‘ As it is a motion that relates to the number of
 ‘ troops to be kept up for the ensuing year, it is
 ‘ proper only for a committee, where gentlemen
 ‘ have leave to speak several times upon the same
 ‘ question, and may rise up, as often as occasion
 ‘ requires, to explain facts, and answer arguments
 ‘ or objections, that can, perhaps, be explained and
 ‘ answered by none but themselves. I have not,
 ‘ indeed, heard any arguments made use of in fa-
 ‘ vour of the question, but such as, I think, may
 ‘ be easily answered by any gentleman in the
 ‘ house; but others may be of a different opinion,
 ‘ and one gentleman has already spoke against the
 ‘ motion, who, could he be allowed to speak a-
 ‘ gain, as he would be if we were in a committee,
 ‘ would, I am certain, be able to answer every
 ‘ argument in favour of the motion, to the con-
 ‘ viction of most gentlemen present *.

‘ Whether out of twenty eight or twenty nine
 ‘ thousand men, a sufficient number may be spared
 ‘ for sea service, without leaving the kingdom de-

* It is a rule in Parliament, that, unless they have resolved themselves into a committee, no gentleman shall be allowed to speak above once in any one debate.

‘ fenceless,

‘ fenceless, is a question, Sir, which, I think, we
‘ cannot enter into at present. The estimates are,
‘ ’tis true, before us, but as I have not, and, I
‘ believe, few gentlemen have, look’d into them,
‘ I do not know what number of land forces we
‘ have on foot, nor do I know what number his
‘ Majesty thinks necessary for the service of the
‘ ensuing year. From what I have heard, I be-
‘ lieve, his Majesty has augmented his land forces:
‘ I think it was necessary he should; and when I
‘ look into the estimates, if it from thence appears,
‘ that his Majesty thinks twenty eight or twenty
‘ nine thousand land forces necessary for the secu-
‘ rity of *Great Britain*, during this next year, I
‘ am not ashamed to say, it will be a strong argu-
‘ ment with me for thinking so too; because his
‘ Majesty must know our danger better than I can.
‘ And if we ought, for the sake of our own secu-
‘ rity, to keep such a number of land forces here
‘ at home, what signifies the present motion?
‘ What would it signify to present the address
‘ thereby proposed? If the body of marines, al-
‘ lowed to be necessary by every gentleman that
‘ has spoke in this debate, should be formed from
‘ draughts made out of the regiments of land forces
‘ we have now on foot, those draughts must, even
‘ according to the motion, be immediately replaced
‘ by raising recruits. What then can it signify, whe-
‘ ther those recruits be raised for marching regi-
‘ ments, or for marines? As mankind are fond
‘ of every thing that’s new, and as common fel-
‘ lows will be readier to enter into the sea than
‘ the land service, I believe, the necessary num-
‘ ber of recruits will be more easily and quickly
‘ raised, when they are all or most of them to be
‘ listed for the sea service, than if they were all or
‘ most of them to be listed for land service; and
‘ as the war is already declared, I think the most
‘ speedy way the best, especially as it will be the
‘ cheapest;

‘ cheapest ; for the more ready men are to en-
‘ gage in the service, the less we shall have occa-
‘ sion to give by way of inlisting money.

‘ For my part, Sir, I do not really well
‘ know what the honourable gentlemen mean
‘ by draughts from the present regiments of
‘ foot. I hope they would not have the offi-
‘ cers drawn away from our marching regi-
‘ ments. If you do, you must immediately ap-
‘ point others in their stead. For, I hope, it
‘ will be allowed, that every regiment of land
‘ forces must have its full complement of officers ;
‘ and if you are resolved to make your marines
‘ what marines ought to be : I mean, if you are
‘ resolved to make them fit for land service, as
‘ well as sea service, you must form them into
‘ regiments, and in that case each regiment of
‘ marines must have its full complement of offi-
‘ cers, the same as if it were designed for a
‘ marching regiment to serve at land only.

‘ Thus it appears, Sir, that with regard to the
‘ expence, it is the same thing, whether the body
‘ of marines proposed, be formed by draughts
‘ from our foot regiments, or by raising new re-
‘ giments for that purpose ; and as to the service,
‘ his Majesty is certainly the best judge of the
‘ most proper method for forming the body of
‘ marines, because it must depend upon the ser-
‘ vice in which they are to be employed. If our
‘ marines are to be employed at sea only, in order
‘ to make up the complements of our men of
‘ war, and to leave seamen for the merchant ser-
‘ vice, new-raised men are every bit as proper as
‘ old soldiers : Nay, they are rather better, be-
‘ cause they will generally consist of younger
‘ men ; and in this case, I shall grant, there
‘ would be no occasion for so many officers. But
‘ if our marines are to be employed likewise upon
‘ land, and to be sent upon any expedition against
‘ the

‘ the enemy, they must be regimented as other
‘ land forces are ; and in this case I make no
‘ question, but that his Majesty will, without
‘ any address from us, order the regiments of
‘ marines to be formed partly by draughts of
‘ private men from old regiments, and partly by
‘ new recruits ; in which case, they will, with
‘ respect to service, be upon the same footing
‘ with our old regiments ; for every regiment of
‘ foot now in the service, must necessarily, by
‘ the late augmentation, have a great number of
‘ raw, undisciplined men in it.

‘ For this reason, Sir, I must think, that the
‘ only question now before us is, Whether the
‘ number of land forces, proposed by the estimate
‘ now upon our table, be the least number that
‘ ought to be kept up for the defence of this
‘ kingdom ; and as this question was never, I be-
‘ lieve, canvassed, but in the committee of sup-
‘ ply, I cannot think it proper for our present
‘ consideration.

‘ Gentlemen, I find, Sir, are mighty apt to find
‘ fault with the number of our officers ; and I do
‘ not in the least wonder at it : The expence and
‘ danger of such, are popular topicks that will,
‘ I believe, be made use of against every future,
‘ as well as they have been against every past ad-
‘ ministration. Some of those, who now insist
‘ upon these topicks, may remember their having
‘ been made use of against themselves ; but, I am
‘ sure, no gentleman will say, that an army can be
‘ kept up without officers : I believe it will be
‘ generally allowed, that the more officers there
‘ are in an army, the better it will always be.
‘ The *French* have a greater number of officers in
‘ proportion than we have, and it is this that
‘ makes their armies so formidable ; for their
‘ common men are rather worse than those of
‘ any of their neighbours. It is their great num-
‘ ber

‘ ber of officers that has generally made their
‘ troops superior to the *Germans*; and as the
‘ *French* nation has always been our most formida-
‘ ble enemy, we ought to take care to render our
‘ troops, at least, as good as theirs: If we can
‘ fall upon any method to render them better, we
‘ ought to make use of it; because our troops are
‘ not near so numerous.

‘ We have, ’tis true, Sir, and must have a
‘ great number of officers, as long as we keep up
‘ either fleet or army; but I do not know, that
‘ the nation is alarmed at the influence attending
‘ so many places civil and military. I know,
‘ great pains have been taken to raise such an
‘ alarm; but, I hope, without any effect; for
‘ government cannot be supported without places
‘ civil and military, and the number of them
‘ must always bear a proportion to the largeness
‘ of the society to which they belong, and the
‘ use that society may have for them. Without
‘ a proper number of officers in a society, disorder
‘ and confusion must ensue; and therefore,
‘ I cannot think it right to endeavour to alarm
‘ the people of a society with the number of officers
‘ civil and military, unless there were really
‘ a great number more than were necessary for
‘ supporting order and preventing confusion,
‘ which, I am sure, is not the case of this nation
‘ at present. In war we must have more than
‘ we can have occasion for in peace; therefore I
‘ am surprized to hear those, who were so sanguine
‘ for a war, pretending to be alarmed at
‘ the influence of such a number of officers.
‘ They could not but foresee, that in time of
‘ war, we must increase both our fleets and armies;
‘ and an increase in our fleets and armies,
‘ must always produce an increase in the number
‘ of our officers, both civil and military.

‘ But

‘ But this, Sir, is departing from the question
 ‘ in hand. If we are to have a body of marines,
 ‘ we must have a proper number of officers for
 ‘ commanding that body; and as no gentleman
 ‘ denies our being under a necessity to establish
 ‘ a body of marines, no gentleman can doubt of
 ‘ our being under an equal necessity to appoint
 ‘ a sufficient number of officers for commanding
 ‘ them. The only question now before us is, Whe-
 ‘ ther we shall diminish the number of our land
 ‘ forces, by drawing from thence a body of ma-
 ‘ rines; and this being a question not yet ripe for
 ‘ our consideration, nor proper whilst we are in a
 ‘ house, as I have already shewn, I cannot agree
 ‘ to it.’

The next that spoke in this debate was *Joseph Danvers, Esq;* whose speech was in substance thus:

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, I am glad to find, that every gentleman, Mr. Dan-
 ‘ who has spoke in this debate, seems convinced vers's speech.
 ‘ of the necessity of our raising a body of ma-
 ‘ rines. They are, in my opinion, Sir, so necessary,
 ‘ that I shall be not only for raising, but keeping
 ‘ them. After they are once properly disciplined,
 ‘ they will do as well at land, as any of the regi-
 ‘ ments we have now on foot, and always when
 ‘ we stand in need of it, they will be of great
 ‘ service at sea. I have had the honour, Sir, to
 ‘ serve my country at sea. It is now, indeed, a
 ‘ long while ago, almost five and thirty years;
 ‘ but I have not quite forgot what I then ob-
 ‘ served; and as I have been at sea, and have
 ‘ seen marines on ship-board, I know better what
 ‘ use they may be of, than those who never were
 ‘ in that service. Sir, there are many services on
 ‘ board a man of war, which marines in a very
 ‘ short

‘ short time become as fit for, as the best and
‘ most thorough-bred seamen. They cannot, in-
‘ deed, go aloft, but they can soon learn to ma-
‘ nage the guns, hawl in the anchors, and, in
‘ short, every other service that is to be per-
‘ formed upon deck, or any where between
‘ decks.

‘ It is true, Sir, that even for these services,
‘ men must have some experience: They must be
‘ for a few days, or perhaps for a few weeks, at
‘ sea, in order to season them to that climate, to
‘ learn to stand upon their legs, and to make
‘ themselves acquainted with the several services,
‘ that are to be performed upon deck, or between
‘ decks. A soldier, therefore, let him have been
‘ trained to military discipline as long as you will,
‘ is as unfit for being a marine, as any fellow just
‘ taken from the plough, or as the merest vaga-
‘ bond that can be picked up in the streets. Sir,
‘ a soldier and a marine are, I may say, quite dif-
‘ ferent creatures: They are as different as an
‘ otter and a fox. Why then should you dimi-
‘ nish the number of your disciplined soldiers, for
‘ the sake of forming a body of marines, when
‘ new-raised men are every whit as fit for the
‘ service? As we have now had a long tract of
‘ peaceable times, there must be in every city and
‘ town, and in every corner of the country, a
‘ great number of idle fellows, who are not only
‘ a burden, but very troublesome and dangerous
‘ to the country where they at present reside. It
‘ will be a publick benefit to make the country
‘ rid of them, and they may be usefully employ-
‘ ed as marines on board our men of war. It
‘ would therefore, in my opinion, be a double
‘ prejudice to the country, to form a body of
‘ marines by making draughts out of our foot re-
‘ giments; because it would be drawing away
‘ from us those men who, in case of an invasion,
‘ would

‘ would be of great service to their country, and
‘ leaving at home those, who are at present a bur-
‘ den, and who, in case of an invasion, would
‘ be very apt to join the enemies of their coun-
‘ try.

‘ I shall grant, Sir, that the regular troops we
‘ have now on foot, would be better for imme-
‘ diate land service, than a body of marines
‘ wholly composed of new-raised men; but un-
‘ less we should be invaded at home, I can see no
‘ reason to suppose, that we shall have immediate
‘ use for either. We are not, I hope, to make
‘ any attack upon the *Spaniards* at land in any
‘ part of *Europe*; and if we should resolve to at-
‘ tack them at land in *America*, we cannot pro-
‘ pose to send out a fleet with land forces on
‘ board for that purpose, till towards the end of
‘ next summer, because the heats in that part of
‘ the world are so excessive in the summer time,
‘ that our troops would probably suffer more by
‘ them than they could suffer by the enemy.
‘ Considering the humour that at present prevails
‘ in the nation, we may, I hope, be able to com-
‘ plect the body of marines proposed, by new
‘ levies, in a month or two; and in that case,
‘ they will have seven or eight months to learn
‘ their discipline, before we can send them out
‘ upon any expedition against the enemy, where
‘ land forces are requisite. In that time they may
‘ be made as expert in the discipline proper for
‘ land service, as any of the regiments we have
‘ now on foot, and would, I hope, behave as
‘ well as could be expected from any body of
‘ men whatever; but as it will probably be ne-
‘ cessary to send a greater number of land forces
‘ abroad, upon any expedition we may undertake,
‘ than the whole number of marines now propo-
‘ sed to be raised, I believe our marines, go when
‘ they will, must be accompanied by some of the
‘ foot

‘ foot regiments now in the service ; which
 ‘ shews, that we ought not to diminish our pre-
 ‘ sent quota of land forces, by drawing such a
 ‘ number out, in order to form a body of ma-
 ‘ rines.

‘ Whether twenty eight thousand men be ne-
 ‘ cessary for our defence at home, is not now,
 ‘ Sir, the question. Suppose, that so great a
 ‘ number may not be necessary ; yet surely, in
 ‘ time of war, we ought to raise and keep up a
 ‘ greater number of land forces, than is barely
 ‘ necessary for our defence here at home. We
 ‘ ought certainly to have such a number of land
 ‘ forces on foot, as may enable his Majesty to
 ‘ send eight or ten thousand abroad upon any ex-
 ‘ pedition he may think fit to undertake, for
 ‘ distressing the enemy in their own dominions.
 ‘ Sir, as I most heartily wish to see the war prose-
 ‘ cuted in the most vigorous manner, and as I do
 ‘ not know but that we may have more enemies
 ‘ than we as yet know of, I shall be so far from
 ‘ resolving to grant no greater number of land
 ‘ forces than are just necessary for our defence at
 ‘ home, that I am resolved, I came here this ses-
 ‘ sion resolved, to grant as many land forces, sea-
 ‘ men, and marines, as his Majesty should desire ;
 ‘ and since I came here, I have heard nothing
 ‘ that can in the least shake this resolution ; for if
 ‘ more land forces be desired than are necessary
 ‘ for our defence at home, I shall suppose, his
 ‘ Majesty intends to send out a sufficient number
 ‘ of them for attacking the enemy abroad ; and I
 ‘ am sure no gentleman would desire, that his
 ‘ Majesty should communicate to us his intentions
 ‘ in this respect, or should tell us what number of
 ‘ land forces he proposes to send abroad for this
 ‘ purpose.

‘ I have not yet perused the estimates that were
 ‘ laid before us yesterday, no more than the ho-

‘ honourable gentleman that spoke last; but, Sir, I
‘ am extremely glad to hear, that his Majesty de-
‘ fires no more than 28 or 29,000 land forces,
‘ and 6 or 7000 marines, for the service of the
‘ ensuing year. It is to me a convincing proof,
‘ that we have nothing to fear, for next year at
‘ least, but from *Spain* alone; and if that nation
‘ stands alone against us but for one year, I hope
‘ we shall be able to give a very good account of
‘ our campaign. I expected, indeed, that the de-
‘ mand would have been much greater, and there-
‘ fore I am surprized to hear gentlemen boggling
‘ at such a demand, and endeavouring to persuade
‘ this house not to agree to it; for this I take to
‘ be the plain meaning of the motion now under
‘ our consideration. His Majesty has desired
‘ 28,000 land forces, and 6000 marines; and we
‘ are desired to tell him by way of address, that
‘ we’ll grant him the 6000 marines, but then they
‘ must be draughted out of the 28,000 land forces.
‘ Is not this an absolute refusal of the number of
‘ land forces desired? Is it not directly telling him,
‘ that we will grant him but 22,000 land forces?
‘ This is certainly the light this motion ought to
‘ be considered in, and in this light, I hope there
‘ are not many in this house that will agree to it.

‘ I am as much, Sir, as any man, against keep-
‘ ing up a numerous standing army in time of
‘ peace. I wish there were not a red coat to be
‘ seen within the kingdom. A standing army is
‘ in all countries an evil, and in a free country it is
‘ a greater evil than in any other; but it is an evil
‘ we must submit to, for the sake of avoiding a
‘ greater; and in time of war, when we must al-
‘ ways be in more danger of that greater evil, than
‘ in time of peace, I shall never be for diminishing
‘ the lesser evil; for if our army were ten times as
‘ numerous as it is, we ought to submit to it, ra-
‘ ther than expose ourselves to that greater, I may
‘ say,

' say, that greatest of evils; for this reason, I can-
 ' not agree with that part of the motion, which
 ' advises the marines to be formed by draughts
 ' from the present regiments of foot; nor can I a-
 ' gree with that part of the motion, which advises
 ' to have as many private men, and as few officers,
 ' as the nature of the service will admit; because it
 ' seems to insinuate, as if fewer officers in propor-
 ' tion would do for marines, than for land forces.
 ' What other gentlemen may mean by marines, I
 ' do not know; but by marines I mean, a body of
 ' troops that may be employed either at sea or
 ' land, as occasion may require; and if they are
 ' ever to be employed at land, they must be regi-
 ' mented, and must have the same number, and
 ' the same sort of officers that are necessary for
 ' land service. Thus, Sir, I have given you my
 ' reasons for being against every part of the address
 ' proposed, and for these reasons I shall, most
 ' heartily, give my negative to the question.'

William Pulteney, Esq; was the next that stood
 up, the purport of whose speech was as follows, *viz.*

Mr. Pulteney's speech.

' Mr. Speaker,
 ' Sir, It is a little surprizing, that a certain set
 ' of gentlemen, notwithstanding the many admo-
 ' nitions they have had, should always bring his
 ' Majesty's name into every debate that happens in
 ' this house. As a private gentleman, Sir, I should
 ' be ready upon all occasions to put a full confi-
 ' dence in his Majesty: To believe we are in dan-
 ' ger, when he says he thinks we are; and to be-
 ' lieve that the sums he demands, and the number
 ' of troops he proposes, are necessary for our secu-
 ' rity. This, I say, I should think myself obliged
 ' as a private gentleman to believe, unless I had
 ' very good reason to think, his Majesty had been
 ' misinformed and imposed on. But as a member
 ' of

of this house, as a trustee for the purses, the liberties, and the privileges of the people of *Great Britain*, I am under an indispensable obligation, not to allow myself to be an implicit believer, even in my Sovereign. As such, I am, in duty to those I represent, bound to suppose, that every speech his Majesty makes from the throne, every message he sends under his hand in writing, and much more every demand made in his name, is the speech, the message, or the demand, not of my Sovereign, but of his minister, and that therefore I not only may, but ought to examine it with great freedom, and to believe in nothing but what I am convinced of by incontestable facts, or unanswerable arguments.

This, Sir, is my duty as a member of this house, and as a trustee for the purses, the liberties, and the privileges of the people of *Great Britain*; therefore, when a demand comes to this house for loading the people with a heavy burden, and endangering our constitution, by raising, or keeping within the island, a numerous standing army, under a pretence of our being in danger of an invasion, though it be made in his Majesty's name, I am to suppose it comes originally from the minister; and upon that supposition I ought to consider, whether that army be demanded for preventing or defeating an invasion intended to be made by foreigners upon our territories, or for encouraging and rendering successful an invasion intended to be made by ministers upon our rights and privileges. Gentlemen may talk what they will about reasonable fears, and causeless jealousies, but in this case every man ought to be guided by his own conscience, and to take particular care that his judgment shall not be directed by any selfish consideration; and were I the most intimate friend of a minister, as the invasions of ministers have been much more frequent

‘quent than the invasions of foreigners, I should
‘rather chuse to be directed by my jealousies than
‘my fears: Nay, were I a minister, or even a
‘prime minister, which, I trust in God, I shall ne-
‘ver affect to be, I should think him an honest
‘man, that shewed more jealousy of me than ap-
‘prehension of foreign danger; and as long as my
‘designs were honest and just, I should trust more
‘in his friendship, than in the friendship of those
‘I found ready upon all occasions to receive what-
‘ever impressions I had a mind to make.

‘I say, Sir, that as the invasions of ministers
‘have been much more frequent than the invasions
‘of foreigners, we ought at all times to be more
‘jealous of the former, than afraid of the latter;
‘but when dangers are pretended, which we have
‘no reason to be afraid of, at least no reason but
‘such a one as must always subsist, and an argu-
‘ment drawn from thence for convincing us to
‘load the people, and endanger our constitution,
‘by keeping a numerous standing army within the
‘island, there is then no room for jealousy, the in-
‘tention becomes evident, which, in my opinion,
‘is the case at present. It is ridiculous to imagine,
‘that the *Spaniards* ever designed to invade us
‘with those troops that have lately marched into
‘*Gallicia*. When they have a real design to in-
‘vade us, they will never prepare for it in that
‘quarter, as we may be sufficiently convinced by
‘experience; because their preparing a fleet of
‘transports at any port in that province, or in the
‘bay of *Biscay*, must always give us a seasonable
‘alarm. Therefore I must suppose, that their
‘marching troops into that quarter, was either to
‘guard against our invading them, or to give
‘some people here a pretence for frightening us
‘with the danger of our being invaded by them;
‘but this pretence can be of no weight with those,
‘who consider, that troops without ships can
‘never

‘ never be of any dangerous consequence to th’s
‘ island. The armies of *Spain*, nay the armies of
‘ *France*, let them march where they will, can
‘ never give terror to any man of common sense
‘ in this island, unless we find they are preparing
‘ ships for transporting them hither, and this, I
‘ hope, we shall always hear of, time enough to
‘ prevent the attempt, which we may easily do,
‘ as long as we have a superior navy.

‘ Suppose, Sir, the *Spaniards* have a real design
‘ to invade us, and that they have marched their
‘ troops into *Gallicia* for that purpose; we know
‘ they have no fleet of transport-ships, either in
‘ the ports of that province, or in any other ports
‘ within their dominions, for transporting those
‘ troops to this island. If they design to invade
‘ us with such a number of troops, as ought to
‘ give us uneasiness, they cannot, in less than three
‘ or four months, provide a sufficient fleet for trans-
‘ porting them; and in that time, as such prepara-
‘ tions cannot be privately made, we shall have
‘ time not only to provide for our defence, but to
‘ put it out of their power to make the attempt.
‘ This they know very well, and therefore, I am
‘ convinced, they will never give the least coun-
‘ tenance to such a ridiculous project. But suppose
‘ they intended to make an invasion upon us with
‘ 4 or 5000 men, which is the greatest number
‘ they could provide transports for, without giving
‘ us timely notice of their design; are we to keep
‘ 28,000 men, or even 18,000 men here at home,
‘ to guard us against such an attempt? Are the
‘ numbers of the disaffected here at home so great,
‘ that 4 or 5000 men would enable them to over-
‘ turn our government, though supported by more
‘ than double that number of regular troops in
‘ *Ireland*, and more than treble the number in
‘ *Great Britain*? This is what no man, who is a
‘ friend to the illustrious Family now upon our
‘ throne,

I i 3

‘ throne, will assert; and therefore, no man, that
‘ is a friend to our present establishment, ought, I
‘ think, to pretend that we are in the least danger
‘ of an invasion.

‘ An invasion, Sir, with such a small number of
‘ troops, would hardly raise any commotion, much
‘ less a dangerous civil war in the bowels of the
‘ kingdom. Even the few disaffected we have
‘ amongst us would be shy of joining such a small
‘ body of troops: I am convinced, no man of
‘ family or fortune would; and therefore, I am
‘ convinced, they would re-imbark, if we gave
‘ them leave, as soon as they found themselves
‘ disappointed of the expected assistance, or would
‘ surrender to the first body of our troops sent a-
‘ gainst them, in case they found they could not
‘ re-imbark. From hence I must conclude, that
‘ as long as *Spain* continues alone in the war a-
‘ gainst us, we are not in the least danger of an
‘ invasion; and suppose *France* should join with
‘ *Spain*, we should have no occasion to provide
‘ against an invasion, especially by raising a nume-
‘ rous army to be kept within the island, till they
‘ had begun to make preparations for that purpose.
‘ I do not suppose, that *France* will join in the
‘ war against us: I am almost certain they will
‘ not, if we take right measures to prevent it.
‘ But if they should join, or if we have now any
‘ reasonable cause to suspect that they will, I am
‘ sure we have not yet provided, or proposed a
‘ sufficient number either of seamen or marines;
‘ and as *France* has not yet joined, nor probably
‘ will for some months to come, instead of being
‘ so curious and nice, as we have been since the
‘ beginning of this war, about having expert sea-
‘ men for manning our ships of war, we should
‘ have begun with taking as few expert seamen as
‘ possible, and filling up the rest of every ship’s
‘ complement with marines, or able-bodied land-
‘ men.

‘ men. This, I say, we ought to have done, be-
‘ cause whilst we were at war with a nation that
‘ could make no head against us at sea, we ought
‘ to have taken the opportunity to increase our
‘ body of seamen, by instructing and seasoning
‘ land-men to the service, in order to provide a-
‘ gainst a nation’s entering into the war, that could
‘ make some head against us at sea. If we had
‘ done this, neither our seamen nor our trade
‘ would have been so much distressed, nor would
‘ the enemy’s privateers have traversed the seas in
‘ pursuit of our merchant-men with so much safety
‘ and success; and in a year or two’s time, we
‘ should have so much increased our national stock
‘ of seamen, as to have very little to apprehend
‘ from the united power of *France* and *Spain*.
‘ What the event of the war may be, God only
‘ knows! I wish it may be successful; but I must
‘ say, that, in my opinion, we have not hitherto
‘ taken one right measure in preparing for it, nor
‘ one vigorous step in carrying it on.

‘ But now, Sir, suppose *France* were already
‘ actually engaged in the war against us, I shall
‘ grant, that we ought in that case to have a
‘ greater number of land forces on foot, than we
‘ have at present; but should those forces be kept
‘ at home to defend us against invasions? No, Sir,
‘ as long as we are masters at sea, with regard to
‘ invasions, we have almost as little to fear from
‘ *France*, as from *Spain*: Neither of them can in-
‘ vade this happy island with any considerable
‘ number of troops, without a long and expensive
‘ preparation; which preparation can be made no
‘ where, but in one of their sea ports, and there
‘ we may send and destroy it, or lock it up, as
‘ soon as we hear of it, which we shall always do
‘ long before it can be ready to put to sea. Even
‘ in this case therefore, instead of keeping our
‘ troops encamped or quartered at home, we ought

‘ to send the greatest part of them on board our
‘ fleet, or to our foreign dominions, from whence
‘ they could easily make incursions or invasions
‘ upon the enemy. For our security here at home,
‘ if we keep a strong squadron in the channel,
‘ with a good number of ships ready to be put in
‘ commission, we shall never have occasion to be
‘ afraid of an invasion; and if we would but take
‘ a little more care of our militia, than we have
‘ done for many years past, we should always be
‘ able and ready to repel any sudden incursion,
‘ nay more ready than we can propose to be any
‘ other way; for we cannot propose to keep 4 or
‘ 5000 regular troops in each county; whereas,
‘ if pains had not been taken to render our militia
‘ despicable, in order to make a standing army
‘ necessary, the militia of any one county in *Eng-*
‘ *land* would be able to encounter, and probably
‘ defeat such a small number of invaders, without
‘ the assistance of our regular army.

‘ Thus, Sir, it appears, that for the sake of
‘ defending us against an invasion, we have not the
‘ least occasion for keeping a standing army of 28
‘ or 29,000 men here at home; and therefore, as
‘ we have that number now on foot in this island,
‘ we may easily spare to send 6 or 8000 of them
‘ to serve as marines on board our men of war.
‘ But now suppose we intend to make an attack
‘ upon the enemy, as I hope we do, the gentlemen
‘ who have spoke upon the other side of the ques-
‘ tion, have told us, we cannot propose to send
‘ out any troops for that purpose, before the end
‘ of next summer. If this be the case, why should
‘ we raise any new troops before the old are sent
‘ out? It will then be time enough to consider,
‘ whether it be necessary for us to replace them,
‘ and in case it should, it may soon be done by
‘ new levies, and in the mean time the pay of a
‘ number of useless troops will be saved to the na-
‘ tion,

tion. I hope we do not intend to send our new-raised troops, call them marines, or what you will, upon any expedition against the enemy. What will those gentlemen say, who have for many years been telling us, that new-raised troops are good for nothing, and that therefore we ought to keep a numerous standing army always on foot? How can these gentlemen, I say, answer for it, if they should now in time of war send new-raised troops upon the most dangerous service, and keep at home, where there is no danger, those veterans, for whose skill in martial discipline the nation has, for so many years, paid such large annual sums of money? Will it not then with justice be said, that our veteran troops are kept at home only for a raree-show, and that our new-raised troops are sent abroad against the enemy, because they cannot so handsomely dance through their exercises at a review?

Sir, this may, perhaps, look a little ludicrous; but if we consider what an effect this consideration may have upon men, who have any regard to their honour, it must appear serious to every man, who has a regard for our present happy establishment. In tours of fatigue, a soldier, or a regiment of soldiers may excuse their not being employed; but in tours of danger, especially where glory and riches may be acquire'd, every soldier, and every corps of soldiers, that have any honour, must look upon it as an affront, if they are not employ'd in their turn. This, Sir, may make our veteran troops our greatest enemies; and by such means, that very army which, for so many years, has been kept up for the security of the Royal Family, may be the cause of its overthrow, and may produce as great a revolution in

‘ in this kingdom, as ever a mutiny of the Jani-
‘ zaries did in *Turkey*.

‘ For this reason, Sir, as well as for the sake
‘ of success, I hope our best troops will be sent
‘ out upon any expedition we intend for attacking
‘ the enemy, either in *Europe* or *America*. But
‘ I am surprized to hear gentlemen say, we can-
‘ not propose to attack *Spain* in *Europe*, or send
‘ out any expedition against them, till the end
‘ of next summer. I shall grant, it is not our bu-
‘ siness to attempt making any conquests upon
‘ them in *Europe*; but is this a reason why we
‘ should not annoy them as much as possible, by
‘ making incursions, and plundering the coasts
‘ of their dominions, even in *Europe*? Can they
‘ prevent this as long as we are masters at sea?
‘ No, Sir, notwithstanding the numerous army
‘ they have, they cannot prevent it; because a
‘ fleet of ships can sail faster from one part of the
‘ coast to another, than a body of troops can
‘ march; and therefore, if we had 7 or 8000
‘ land forces on board the squadron we now have
‘ upon their coasts, they might often find an op-
‘ portunity to land, and ransack a great part of
‘ the adjacent country, and to retire again with
‘ safety on board their ships, before the *Spaniards*
‘ could gather together a sufficient body of troops
‘ to oppose them. By this means, we might
‘ harass their troops, and keep their whole sea-
‘ coast in a perpetual alarm; and, perhaps, find
‘ an opportunity to destroy those works, our
‘ tameness some years since allowed them to erect,
‘ within cannon-shot of *Gibraltar*.

‘ Is there any reason to be assigned, Sir, for
‘ delaying to send troops upon such an expedition,
‘ till the end of next summer? Can a reason be
‘ assigned for its not having been already done?
‘ I know that the month of *July*, *August*, or
‘ *September*, is the proper time for sending out a
‘ body

‘ body of land forces to attack the *Spaniards* in
‘ *America* ; and I likewise know, that if we had
‘ followed the example either of *Q. Elizabeth*
‘ or *Oliver Cromwell*, we would have begun the
‘ war with such an expedition. I hope to see
‘ more vigorous and better concerted measures
‘ taken next summer : I hope to see an expedition
‘ sent out for annoying the *Spanish* dominions
‘ in *Europe*, and another for conquering some
‘ part of their dominions in *America* ; but both,
‘ I think, may be undertaken without raising so
‘ much as one new regiment ; because, out of
‘ 28,000 men, the number of our regular forces
‘ now on foot in this island, we may spare a suf-
‘ ficient number of troops for both. As we have
‘ now such a prodigious navy at sea, I do not
‘ think we have use for a greater number of
‘ troops at home, than we ever had in times of
‘ the most profound tranquillity ; and therefore, I
‘ think, we may spare to send at least 16,000
‘ against the enemy, which is a sufficient number
‘ for both these expeditions, and a sufficient num-
‘ ber for any occasion we may have, as long as
‘ *Spain* stands alone in the war against us. If
‘ *France*, indeed, should declare in favour of
‘ *Spain*, we must then augment our land force
‘ both abroad and at home ; but this we may
‘ easily, and almost instantly do by new levies,
‘ and by taking foreign troops into our pay ; and
‘ till this event happens, we ought to save all
‘ we can, in order to be the better able to support
‘ such a heavy war, when it happens to break
‘ out.

‘ Frugality, Sir, is extremely necessary at the
‘ beginning of every war ; because, after a war
‘ is once begun, no man can tell when it will
‘ end. The present war may be of longer con-
‘ tinuance than some people imagine. I have
‘ more fears that way, than I shall now explain.

‘ I

‘ I shall now only say, that if we accept of no
‘ peace but an honourable one, the war will not,
‘ I believe, be soon over; and therefore, we
‘ ought to take care not to run ourselves out of
‘ breath in the beginning of a long course. Spite
‘ of the most vigorous and best concerted mea-
‘ sures, the war may last for several years, and
‘ may become much more heavy than it is at
‘ present; but if our measures should hereafter
‘ be as much influenced by our fears of an inva-
‘ sion, as they seem by this debate to be at pre-
‘ sent, I may prophesy, that we shall never be
‘ able to bring it to a happy or honourable con-
‘ clusion. If our fears of an invasion at home
‘ should so much engross our care and attention,
‘ as to prevent our being able to take due care of
‘ our trade or dominions abroad, the war may,
‘ perhaps, end in the destruction or loss of a
‘ great part of both; which God in his infinite
‘ mercy will, I hope, prevent; for besides the
‘ ruin it would bring upon this nation, it would
‘ very much endanger our present happy establish-
‘ ment, and consequently the Protestant religion,
‘ and the liberties of *Europe*.

‘ For this reason, Sir, we ought not to allow
‘ ourselves to be induced, by groundless fears, to
‘ be at the expence of raising or keeping up more
‘ forces, either at home or abroad, than are abso-
‘ lutely necessary; and those we do keep up
‘ ought to be employed in the most vigorous
‘ manner, and in those places where they can
‘ most annoy the enemy, or contribute most to
‘ the advantage of their country. It is our busi-
‘ ness in this house to grant what supplies are ne-
‘ cessary for the publick service; but it is likewise
‘ our business to advise his Majesty to make use
‘ of the most frugal methods, and even to point
‘ out those methods, which we think may be the
‘ most frugal and effectual. For this purpose we
‘ stand

‘ stand in need of no secret intelligence: We
‘ may know the general circumstances of an ene-
‘ my without such intelligence; and therefore,
‘ though we cannot prescribe, we may give our
‘ advice with regard either to peace or war. This
‘ is our duty; this is all that is attempted at pre-
‘ sent; and if doing our duty in this respect is to
‘ be called animosity, it is a laudable animosity:
‘ It is such an animosity as, I hope, will for ever
‘ prevail in this house. An honourable gentle-
‘ man was pleased to make an observation, that
‘ those who have the right side are generally the
‘ coolest in the argument: I shall give him two
‘ for his one; though I am far from saying, that
‘ either of them is applicable to any gentleman in
‘ this house. One is, that the deceitful, who
‘ have a mind to impose upon the understanding,
‘ are always extremely cool in their arguments;
‘ and the other is, that the advocate who speaks
‘ for his fee, seldom shews such a natural warmth,
‘ as the man that speaks in his own cause. In
‘ this house it would be in vain for any man to
‘ attempt to impose, and I hope I shall never see
‘ any man in it speak for his fee; but I do not at
‘ all wonder to see a decent warmth expressed;
‘ for I hope every man thinks he speaks in his
‘ own cause, because it is the cause of his coun-
‘ try.

‘ The present question, Sir, is, I think, as
‘ much the cause of my country, as any question
‘ that ever happened in this house. The war we
‘ are now engaged in is, it is true, as yet but a
‘ bauble: It is as yet a sort of toy we may play
‘ a little with; but it may become one of the
‘ most heavy and dangerous wars this nation was
‘ ever engaged in; and then we may have cause
‘ to repent of every shilling we needlessly threw
‘ away at the beginning. There is as great a diffe-
‘ rence between being a miser and being frugal,
‘ as

' as there is between being frugal and being pro-
 ' digal. Frugality is the mean which a wise man
 ' will always chuse, but the fool generally launches
 ' out into prodigality, in order to shun the impu-
 ' tation of being a miser. In this war, I hope,
 ' we shall put ourselves to no expence for the sake
 ' of shew: We have had raree-shews enough al-
 ' ready: I hope, we shall now make the best,
 ' the most effectual use of every squadron we fit
 ' out, and every regiment we raise or keep on
 ' foot; and I hope we shall neither fit out, nor
 ' raise or keep up any more than we have imme-
 ' diate occasion for. In time of peace, these ex-
 ' pensive raree-shews only prevented our paying
 ' off our old debt; but in time of war, they will
 ' make us contract new, and, by breaking our
 ' credit, may bring sudden perdition upon the
 ' nation.

' This, Sir, is one of the greatest dangers we
 ' lie exposed to, and to obviate this danger is the
 ' intention of the motion now under our con-
 ' sideration. It has no relation to any estimate:
 ' It relates only to his Majesty's speech, in which
 ' we are told, his Majesty had judged it proper,
 ' that a body of marines should be raised; there-
 ' fore, we have no occasion to look into any
 ' estimate; for this motion might have been
 ' made and agreed to, though none of the esti-
 ' mates had been laid before us. But I am fur-
 ' prized to hear any gentleman say, that such
 ' a motion cannot come properly before us, till
 ' we take the estimates into our consideration in
 ' the committee of supply. If it had been de-
 ' layed till that time, I am sure, it would have
 ' been called a very preposterous motion, perhaps,
 ' even by those who now call it premature. In
 ' the committee of supply we must either approve
 ' of, or reject the estimates: I hope the gentle-
 ' men who now think this motion improper,

' would

‘ would not have us, when we go into the com-
‘ mittee of supply, to reject the estimate for ma-
‘ rines, in order to consider of and agree to this
‘ motion; and I am sure, it would be ridiculous
‘ to make or agree to such a motion, after we
‘ have approv’d of an estimate for raising the
‘ marines by new levies. But if this motion
‘ should now be agreed to, we may put off taking
‘ the marine estimate into our consideration, till
‘ we have a return from his Majesty to this ad-
‘ dress; and if he should approve of our advice,
‘ he would certainly order a new estimate, con-
‘ form thereto, to be laid before us.

‘ The present is, therefore, the only proper
‘ time for taking this motion into our considera-
‘ tion; and as I have shewn, that we can have no
‘ occasion for such a great number of land forces,
‘ besides marines, I think the motion ought to be
‘ agreed to. I shall most readily join in opinion,
‘ that a body of marines ought to be formed;
‘ and that it ought to be such a one as may,
‘ upon occasion, be fit for land as well as sea ser-
‘ vice. But gentlemen seem to mistake the prin-
‘ cipal design of having a body of marines:
‘ They ought to be principally designed to come
‘ in aid of our national stock of seamen, and that
‘ we may not be obliged to draw away from our
‘ trade too many of that necessary body of men.
‘ If this be, as it ought to be, the chief design,
‘ there is no occasion for forming them into regi-
‘ ments, or for putting ourselves to the expence
‘ of having any generals or field officers of ma-
‘ rines. Such officers of marines are no way ne-
‘ cessary for any service, unless it be for the ser-
‘ vice of ministers in this house. The expence
‘ of such officers is, therefore, what we may and
‘ ought to save to the nation. It is an expence
‘ in which we have been long most extravagant,
‘ even with respect to our land army. We have
‘ long

‘ long been at as great an annual expence for our
‘ land army, as would maintain double the num-
‘ ber, according to the establishment in any other
‘ country of *Europe*. In *France*, it is true, as
‘ they have officers *en seconde*, they may have as
‘ many, perhaps, more officers than we; but the
‘ pay of their officers is not near equal to ours;
‘ and if it were, *France* would be but a bad ex-
‘ ample for us. In that absolute monarchy, they
‘ have a great number of officers, in order to
‘ have a great number of their nobility employed
‘ in their army, and thereby kept dependent upon
‘ the crown.

‘ This, Sir, is the true reason, why the *French*
‘ have such a number of officers, and not, as an
‘ honourable gentleman has been pleased to assert,
‘ because it makes their troops superior to the
‘ *Germans*; for it is not really so in fact. In the
‘ last age, the *French* troops were better than the
‘ *Germans*, because they were much better disci-
‘ plined; but now that the *German* are equally
‘ disciplined, though not equally officered, they
‘ are rather better than the *French*, as appeared in
‘ the last war between these two nations, when
‘ the *French* trusted more to their numbers, or to
‘ their art and intrenchments, than to the bravery
‘ of their troops. But the very reason that in-
‘ duces the *French* to have a great number of
‘ officers, ought to be a reason for us to have as
‘ few as possible; for a great number of officers,
‘ whether civil or military, as they are all, by our
‘ present constitution, in the nomination, and
‘ most of them removable at the pleasure of the
‘ crown, must create such a dependence upon,
‘ and thereby establish such a power in the crown,
‘ as is inconsistent with a free government or
‘ limited monarchy. I was really surprized to
‘ hear an honourable gentleman say, that he
‘ knows of no alarm spread among the people
‘ by

‘ by the great number of officers, civil and milita-
‘ ry, we have at present. One would from thence
‘ be apt to suspect, that he keeps company with
‘ none but officers, civil or military; for I will
‘ venture to say, that no man can go into any
‘ other sort of company without hearing some of
‘ them express their fears upon this head: And
‘ yet from his saying, that we have no more offi-
‘ cers, civil or military, than are necessary for the
‘ ends of government, one would be apt to sus-
‘ pect, that he knew very little of the nature of
‘ those many new offices that have been of late
‘ years created, or of those old offices that have
‘ been split into several parts, in order to increase
‘ the number of officers.

‘ Every man, Sir, that knows any thing of our
‘ present circumstances, must know, that we have
‘ a vast number of places that are absolute sine-
‘ cures; and these, I am sure, can be necessary for
‘ no end of government, whatever they may be
‘ for the ends of corruption. Of this sort, Sir,
‘ was our late general of marines; and in the same
‘ light shall I look upon every general, field offi-
‘ cer, pay-master, commissary, and chaplain of
‘ marines, that shall be hereafter created or revi-
‘ ved. I know that marines ought to be men
‘ bred to land, as well as sea discipline; and for
‘ this reason, men who have already learned the
‘ land discipline, are more fit for marines, especial-
‘ ly as we have immediate use for them, than raw
‘ or fresh men, that know nothing either of land
‘ or sea discipline. But gentlemen, I find, mistake
‘ the land service, which marines ought to be de-
‘ signed for: If marines were to serve a whole
‘ campaign at land, and to be made a part of a re-
‘ gular land army, I shall grant, that they ought
‘ to be formed into regiments, and to be officered
‘ in the same manner as other land forces are; but

‘ this is a service that marines ought never to be
‘ employed in: When such an army is to be form-
‘ ed, a sufficient number of land forces ought to
‘ be sent out for that purpose. The only land
‘ service that marines ought to be designed for, or
‘ employed in, is to support our seamen in storm-
‘ ing a town or castle, after a squadron of men of
‘ war has so battered and bombarded it, as to
‘ make an assault practicable; or to make an incur-
‘ sion upon some open country, where there are
‘ no regular troops, or not such a number of re-
‘ gular troops as can be called an army, to oppose
‘ them; and for both these services a body of ma-
‘ rines, formed into independent companies, are as
‘ good as if they were formed into regular regi-
‘ ments.

‘ For this reason, Sir, if we are to raise 6 or
‘ 7000 men, formed into six regiments, and re-
‘ gularly officered as other land forces are, I shall
‘ consider them as land forces, and as an addition
‘ to our land army. You may call them by that
‘ favourite name, marines, in order to put a cheat
‘ upon the publick, which I think no way necessa-
‘ ry upon the present occasion; but you cannot
‘ employ them as marines: At least if you do,
‘ the field officers belonging to them will be quite
‘ useless, and their pay an unnecessary expence to
‘ the publick, as long as their regiments are em-
‘ ployed as marines. I shall readily agree to the
‘ forming a body of 6000 marines, or double that
‘ number, if it should appear to be necessary; but
‘ that body ought, I think, to be formed into in-
‘ dependent companies, and brought in aid of our
‘ national stock of seamen, in order, as I have said,
‘ to prevent our being forced to draw too many
‘ sailors away from our trade; and as we have im-
‘ mediate occasion to employ them at land as well
‘ as sea, the private men ought, I think, to be
‘ drawn

‘ drawn from the regiments now in our service,
‘ and our best and most experienced captains and
‘ subalterns appointed to command them. This
‘ is the design of the present motion, and there-
‘ fore I cannot but approve of it.

‘ Having already troubled you too long, Sir,
‘ for which I beg pardon, I shall conclude with
‘ observing, that by the method of arguing made
‘ use of in this debate, by those who have spoke
‘ upon the other side of the question, they have
‘ not only condemned all the arguments they have
‘ themselves been making use of for these twenty
‘ years, in favour of a standing army, but also
‘ they have condemned the measures lately taken
‘ for manning our navy. I believe, there is no
‘ experienced officer in our army, but will confess,
‘ that it requires longer practice and more pains to
‘ teach common men a natural and quick use of
‘ the musket and bayonet, so as that they may
‘ exercise them in a body regularly and without
‘ confusion, than to make them masters of all the
‘ marches and counter-marches, or involutions and
‘ evolutions, that are practised in the most regular
‘ army; and accordingly at all reviews we find,
‘ that regiments oftener fail in their regular firings,
‘ or in charging and discharging, than in any other
‘ part of the exercise: Therefore, if new-raised
‘ men can in a few days, or a few weeks, suffi-
‘ ciently learn the use of the musket and bayonet,
‘ which is the most difficult part of discipline, I
‘ am sure, we have no occasion for keeping a
‘ standing army always on foot; and however
‘ much we may neglect regular firing on board our
‘ men of war, I must take notice, that when one
‘ of our late *Spithead* expeditions, for, I think,
‘ we have had several, was joined by a small squa-
‘ dron of *Dutch* men of war, it was observed, that
‘ the men on board the *Dutch* ships were daily
‘ exercised

‘ exercised in the use of the fire-lock, and that
‘ they charged and discharged as regularly and as
‘ quickly, as could be expected from regular troops.
‘ Thus, Sir, have these gentlemen condemned
‘ the chief argument they have been making use
‘ of for these twenty years in favour of a standing
‘ army; and by the arguments they have now
‘ made use of in favour of marines, and for our
‘ supplying that service by new levies, they have
‘ condemned the whole tenor of our late practice
‘ for manning our navy. The honourable gentle-
‘ man who spoke last, who has himself had some
‘ experience in the navy, has told us, there are
‘ many services on board a man of war that may,
‘ with a little experience, be performed by land-
‘ men as well as seamen; and that this experience
‘ may be soon acquired by a fellow just come from
‘ the plough, or by a vagabond just pick’d up in
‘ the streets. I believe what the honourable gen-
‘ tleman says to be true, as I shall be ready to do
‘ any fact he advances: I believe a ploughman or
‘ a vagabond, if he be an able-bodied man, may
‘ much sooner learn to hawl in an anchor, or to
‘ perform any such service on board a man of war,
‘ than he can learn the use of the fire-lock; but if
‘ this be so, why, accept of none, or a very few,
‘ for our ships of war, but such as were expert
‘ seamen? Why, refuse many able-bodied vaga-
‘ bonds, that were pick’d up in several of our
‘ counties, and sent at a great charge to the sea
‘ ports, where our regulating captains were posted,
‘ and many able-bodied land-men that came to offer
‘ themselves to the service? Why, offer no reward
‘ to land-men, as well as seamen, that should vo-
‘ luntarily come to list in his Majesty’s sea service?
‘ Sir, what instructions our regulating captains had,
‘ I know not, but I know that they refused or
‘ rejected a great many land-men, and not a few
‘ seamen:

‘ seamen: Whereas, in a time of such distress,
 ‘ every man that had no infectious distemper upon
 ‘ him, nor any natural infirmity, ought to have
 ‘ been accepted. And if we had begun with
 ‘ forming a body of marines by draughts from our
 ‘ regular regiments, which his Majesty might have
 ‘ done, as soon as he found a war unavoidable;
 ‘ we might have replaced them by new levies,
 ‘ and might by this time have had in the *West-*
 ‘ *Indies* such a number of marines, as would not
 ‘ only have taken, but held any place we thought
 ‘ fit to attack; for as our squadron in that part of
 ‘ the world can meet with no opposition at sea,
 ‘ they might, as soon as they arrived, have sent
 ‘ every one of their marines upon some expedition
 ‘ at land; and as the enemy has no regular army
 ‘ there, a body of disciplined soldiers, formed into
 ‘ independent companies of marines, would have
 ‘ been as fit for the service, as the best and most
 ‘ regular regiments we can send thither.

‘ I think I have now answered every objection
 ‘ that has been made to the motion; I hope, Sir,
 ‘ I have given such arguments for it, as are con-
 ‘ vincing, and therefore, I hope, every gentleman
 ‘ that hears me, will join with me in giving his
 ‘ affirmative to the question.’

Sir Robert Walpole rose up, and concluded the
 debate with a speech in substance thus:

‘ Mr. Speaker,

‘ Sir, Whatever other gentlemen may suppose
 ‘ with regard to the speeches or demands of their
 ‘ Sovereign, I think it is the duty of his Majesty’s
 ‘ servants, even though they be members of this
 ‘ house, to talk with great respect of those speeches
 ‘ that are made by him, and of those demands
 ‘ that are made in his name, as well as of those
 ‘ messages

Sir Robert
Walpole’s
speech.

‘ messages that are signed by him; and when they
 ‘ know, which some of them may do, that they
 ‘ are not the speeches or demands of ministers,
 ‘ but the real speeches or demands of their Sove-
 ‘ reign and Master, they may, I think, make use
 ‘ of his Majesty’s name, even in this house, with-
 ‘ out incurring any just censure. I know that no
 ‘ member of this house ought to have an implicit
 ‘ faith in any man, or in any opinion: We ought
 ‘ to give credit to no fact, unless it be vouched by
 ‘ undoubted evidence, or supported by proper au-
 ‘ thority, in cases that will not admit of evidence:
 ‘ Neither ought we to assent to any opinion, un-
 ‘ less it be established by solid reasoning. But in
 ‘ state affairs, particularly in time of war, facts
 ‘ may arise, which may be certainly true, and may
 ‘ have sufficient vouchers, and yet those vouchers
 ‘ may be such as cannot be laid before Parliament:
 ‘ In such cases, we must depend upon his Majesty’s
 ‘ authority; and the only method by which that
 ‘ authority can be communicated, is by speech,
 ‘ message, or demand.

‘ Every gentleman will, I believe, Sir, allow,
 ‘ that designed invasions and insurrections are facts
 ‘ of this nature. There may be such designs, and
 ‘ more probably in time of war, than at any other
 ‘ time; there may be sufficient vouchers of such
 ‘ designs, and yet those vouchers may be such as
 ‘ cannot be communicated to Parliament; there-
 ‘ fore, had I not the least concern in the admini-
 ‘ stration, or in his Majesty’s councils, I should
 ‘ be apt to believe any insinuation of such a design,
 ‘ if such an insinuation should be made by his Ma-
 ‘ jesty, either in express terms, by speech or mes-
 ‘ sage, or tacitly, by desiring such a number of
 ‘ forces as might be necessary for defeating or
 ‘ preventing the execution of such designs. This
 ‘ ought at all times to be an argument of some
 ‘ weight,

weight, for prevailing upon us to grant the number of forces, both by sea and land, which our Sovereign may think necessary; but in time of war, this argument ought to have a much greater weight, because our Sovereign may then have in view, not only to defeat the secret designs of our enemies against us, but to execute some secret designs against them.

I shall admit, Sir, that it is our duty in this house to be jealous of the liberties and privileges of the people, and to be as sparing of their purses, as is consistent with their welfare and security. But both jealousy and frugality may be pushed too far: Jealousy often prompts the suspected to that which would never have entered into their heads, if they had not found themselves causelessly suspected; and by not giving a little to those that are to defend us, we may have the whole taken away by those that are to attack us. I am certain, we had never less cause to be jealous than we have at present: No one step of his present Majesty's conduct could ever furnish us with the least intimation of his having a design to incroach upon our liberties and privileges, or to make a bad use of the regular troops we keep on foot. Nay, if he had any such inclination, the complexion of our present army would prevent his indulging that inclination, by forming designs against our liberties: The education and known sentiments both of the officers and soldiers of our army, must convince us, that they are as great enemies to arbitrary power, as any other set of men in the kingdom; therefore, I shall always look upon our army as a guard to our liberties, and the more numerous it is, the better, I must suppose, our liberties will be guarded.

‘ It is not, Sir, from any apprehensions, I
‘ have of our army, with regard to our liberties,
‘ that I am against its being made more numerous
‘ than is now proposed. It is the expence alone
‘ that gives me any concern; and upon this ac-
‘ count only, I shall always be against our raising
‘ or keeping up a greater number of troops than
‘ I think absolutely necessary for the security of
‘ our liberties, privileges, and properties. But
‘ my concern in this respect, I shall never allow
‘ to carry me so far, as to expose the people to be
‘ invaded and plundered by their enemies, for
‘ the sake of saving them that trifle of expence,
‘ which may be necessary for keeping on foot
‘ a few more troops, or for maintaining a few
‘ more officers; and considering that the saving
‘ to be made by what is now proposed, would
‘ amount but to a mere trifle, I should never for-
‘ give myself for such a trifling and ill-timed fruga-
‘ lity, if any corner of our dominions should be
‘ plundered and laid waste, for want of a suffi-
‘ cient number of regular troops to repel an
‘ invading enemy; or if the marine forces we
‘ send abroad should, upon any engagement,
‘ run into confusion, and be destroyed, for
‘ want of field officers to command them, and
‘ keep them in order.

‘ I know, Sir, it is our duty in this house,
‘ to give our most sincere advice to our Sove-
‘ reign, as often as any important occurrence
‘ makes it necessary; but, in order to give that
‘ advice its proper weight, we ought to take care
‘ that it shall always be attended with dignity;
‘ therefore, we ought not to interpose with our
‘ advice too frequently, or upon trifling occasions;
‘ and we ought never to give it but upon full
‘ and mature deliberation. The affair now before
‘ us is, I think, of too trifling a nature for us to
‘ interpose

‘ interpose with our advice, especially as it has
‘ not been particularly asked upon the present
‘ occasion ; and I am sure it cannot be said, that
‘ we have fully and maturely considered what we
‘ are about. The address proposed must be al-
‘ lowed to be something very different from an
‘ humble advice. As the estimate for marines,
‘ prepared by his Majesty’s order, is now before
‘ us, this address will be look’d on, as a con-
‘ demnation of that estimate ; for if that estimate
‘ be properly drawn up, if the method thereby
‘ proposed for raising marines be the most proper
‘ and frugal that can be thought of, what occa-
‘ sion can there be for such an address? If we
‘ approve of the estimate, it would be ridiculous
‘ in us to present such an address ; therefore, our
‘ agreeing to, or presenting such an address,
‘ must be considered as a condemnation of the
‘ estimate now before us ; and I appeal to every
‘ gentleman of this house, whether he has suffi-
‘ ciently examined that estimate for enabling him
‘ to pass sentence of condemnation upon it. Such
‘ a sentence ought not, I think, to be passed, till
‘ the estimate has been actually read in the house ;
‘ but so far from being read in the house, I be-
‘ lieve, it has been read but by a very few mem-
‘ bers of the house ; and therefore, if no gentle-
‘ man gives his vote for the address or sentence
‘ of condemnation proposed, but he that has
‘ read the estimate, I believe, I may easily guess
‘ what will be the fate of the question.

‘ Sir, I hope I may suppose, that in order to
‘ fix upon the most proper methods for raising
‘ and forming a body of marines, those who have
‘ the honour to advise the crown, took care to
‘ examine the several establishments of marines
‘ made in former times, and the several services
‘ they were employed in ; and as there are several
‘ persons

‘ persons still alive, who were in the service in
‘ King *William* and Queen *Anne*’s time, I may
‘ suppose, that those persons were examined, in
‘ order to know from them, how the marines
‘ performed the services they were employed in,
‘ and the defects or advantages that were found
‘ in the establishments then made. This, I must
‘ suppose, was done by those who have the ho-
‘ nour to advise the crown, before they could
‘ think themselves qualified for giving a proper
‘ advice; and this I think we ought to do, be-
‘ fore we can agree to such a motion as the pre-
‘ sent. But can it be said, that we have made
‘ any such inquiry, that we have examined any
‘ one person, or that we have before us any one
‘ of those papers, which we ought to look into,
‘ before we presume to give his Majesty any ad-
‘ vice upon this head? Therefore, this address,
‘ call it an advice, as some gentlemen pretend it
‘ is, or call it a condemnation of the estimate
‘ now before you, as I think it really is, in short,
‘ call it what you will, it cannot be said to be the
‘ effect of a mature deliberation; and therefore,
‘ it cannot be attended with that dignity, which
‘ we ought carefully to preserve in all our applica-
‘ tions or approaches to the crown.

‘ For this reason, Sir, if I approved of the
‘ advice proposed, I could not approve of this
‘ hasty and inconsiderate manner of resolving
‘ upon it; but the advice itself is such a one as
‘ I cannot approve of. It is to me, indeed, a
‘ very new sort of doctrine, that in time of war,
‘ we have no occasion to keep within the island
‘ a greater number of troops, than in a time of
‘ the most profound tranquillity. When we are
‘ at open war with a nation that has a considerable
‘ navy, though nothing equal to ours; when that
‘ nation has a great number of veteran troops in
‘ their

‘ their provinces that are next to us ; and when
‘ they are every day fitting out both men of war
‘ and transports, I should think it very unwise in
‘ us, not to keep at home for our defence, a
‘ more numerous army than we usually have in
‘ time of peace. We may despise the naval power
‘ of *Spain* in our speeches and conversation here
‘ at home : I shall grant, it is no way equal to
‘ ours : I shall grant, they have but few ships of
‘ their own fit for being made transports ; but
‘ there is always a great number of foreign ships
‘ in their harbours : Before the war broke out,
‘ there were often more *British* merchant-ships in
‘ their harbour of *Cadiz* alone, than would have
‘ been sufficient for transporting 10,000 foot to
‘ *Britain* or *Ireland* ; and as that trade must still
‘ be carried on, and will now be carried on by the
‘ merchant-ships of *Holland*, *France*, and other
‘ nations, we must suppose that there will always
‘ be more foreign ships in the ports of *Spain*,
‘ than are necessary for transporting 10 or 12,000
‘ infantry to this island or to *Ireland*. These
‘ ships the court of *Spain* may, by an embargo,
‘ force into their service ; and as our fleet may be
‘ lock’d up in the channel by contrary winds, it
‘ may be impossible for us to send out a squadron,
‘ either to intercept their designed armado, or to
‘ lock it up or destroy it in their harbour. This is
‘ an accident we can provide against no other way,
‘ but by having at all times a land army equal to
‘ any they can invade us with, for opposing them
‘ at, or soon after their landing ; and therefore,
‘ I shall always be for keeping a more numerous
‘ body of troops within the island in time of war,
‘ than was ever thought necessary in time of
‘ peace.

‘ But besides the number of troops necessary to
‘ be kept at home, for guarding us against inva-
‘ fions

‘ fions or incursions, surely, Sir, in time of war,
‘ we ought to have some certain number of regu-
‘ lar troops ready to be sent out upon such designs
‘ against the enemy, as future incidents may en-
‘ courage us to undertake. As the winter time
‘ is the best for attacking the enemy in *America*,
‘ we cannot, perhaps, send out any land forces
‘ for that purpose, before the month of *July*
‘ next; but there are other places where we may,
‘ perhaps, attack the *Spaniards* with advantage to
‘ ourselves, and great prejudice to them; and,
‘ for this purpose, it may be proper to send out a
‘ body of disciplined troops early in the spring.
‘ I do not know that his Majesty has, at present,
‘ any such project in view; but, suppose he has
‘ not, yet many accidents may occur before that
‘ time, for rendering the success of such a pro-
‘ ject not only probable but certain; and could
‘ any one approve of our conduct, if we should
‘ lose such an opportunity, by not having a spare
‘ body of land forces ready to be sent upon the
‘ execution? Could the saving of 80 or 100,000*l.*
‘ which is the utmost we can save by what is
‘ now proposed, any way counter-balance the ad-
‘ vantage we might reap by the success of such a
‘ design?

‘ I cannot pretend to say, Sir, whether this
‘ war can be of a long continuance or no; but,
‘ I am certain, that the most infallible method
‘ we can take, for making it of a long con-
‘ tinuance, is to be so parsimonious at the begin-
‘ ning, as not to make the proper provision for
‘ carrying it on with vigour. We are told, by the
‘ highest authority, that they who go to war ought
‘ to consult, whether they be able with ten thou-
‘ sand to meet those that come against them with
‘ twenty thousand. But, it seems, we must be able
‘ to do a great deal more; for with 28,000 land
‘ forces,

‘ forces, we propose to overcome *Spain* with
‘ above 100,000. ’Tis true, our navy is much
‘ superior to theirs; but, by our navy alone,
‘ we cannot propose to force them to a peace:
‘ We must attack them at land some where or
‘ other; and, for this purpose, we must have
‘ a sufficient land force. I believe they have
‘ not at present any great number of regular
‘ troops in the *West-Indies*, and we may prevent
‘ their sending a great fleet and army there at
‘ one time; but we cannot prevent their sending
‘ small detachments in single ships, or in half a
‘ dozen ships at a time; and, by such means,
‘ they may considerably increase their regular
‘ troops in the *West-Indies*, even before we can
‘ send any to attack them. It is, therefore, now
‘ impossible to tell, what number of troops it
‘ may be necessary for us to send thither, either
‘ for attacking the enemy, or defending our own
‘ dominions, in that part of the world; and, if
‘ we send veteran troops thither, the new-raised
‘ troops that are to replace them here at home,
‘ ought to be levied some months before, in or-
‘ der that they may be trained to discipline, and
‘ ready for service, before we send away the old;
‘ for though we ought, and certainly must send
‘ out troops for attacking the enemy, or defend-
‘ ing our dominions abroad, I hope no gentleman
‘ will say, that we ought, for that purpose, to
‘ leave our dominions at home defenceless.

‘ I shall not say, Sir, that a body of 28 or
‘ 29,000 men is absolutely necessary for our
‘ defence at home; but, I will say, that we
‘ ought to have that number at least, besides the
‘ marines now proposed to be raised, in order to
‘ be in a condition to spare 8 or 10,000, as oc-
‘ casion may require, for distressing the ene-
‘ my, or defending our dominions abroad. And

‘ now, Sir, with regard to the method of raising
‘ and forming the body of marines proposed, as
‘ no gentleman questions its being necessary to
‘ make them fit for land as well as sea service, I
‘ am surprized to hear any gentleman say, that
‘ they ought to be formed into independent com-
‘ panies, rather than regiments. I believe, every
‘ gentleman that has ever seen any service, will
‘ say, that a body of men formed into regiments,
‘ are better for land service, and less liable to con-
‘ fusion, than a body of men formed into inde-
‘ pendent companies; and this is confirmed by
‘ the present practice of every state in *Europe*. In
‘ little attacks and skirmishes, where there are not
‘ above two or three hundred men of a side, inde-
‘ pendent companies may do as well as a detach-
‘ ment from a regiment; but, where the contend-
‘ ing armies amount to thousands, it is certain,
‘ that regiments are more proper than independent
‘ companies; and as this last may very probably
‘ be the case of our marines, I must think they
‘ ought to be formed into regiments. I shall
‘ grant, that whilst those regiments are on board
‘ our men of war, the field officers can be of no
‘ service; but I hope they will seldom be for any
‘ long time on board our men of war: They
‘ will be there only during the time of transport-
‘ ing them from one place to another; and
‘ wherever they go, the field officers must go
‘ along with them, in order to take the command
‘ of them as soon as landed: Therefore, I hope, no
‘ gentleman will grudge the expence of eighteen
‘ or twenty field officers, when it comes in com-
‘ petition with the behaviour of our troops, and
‘ the glory of our country.

‘ Now, Sir, as to the other officers, if gentle-
‘ men will but take time to look into the estimate
‘ upon our table, and compare it with former
‘ establish,

‘ establishments of the same nature, they will see,
‘ that the body of marines now to be raised, is
‘ to have no more officers of any kind than
‘ former experience has shewn to be necessary. I
‘ know, that the marines raised in 1692, had two
‘ hundred men in each company; but experience
‘ soon shewed, that such companies were not fit for
‘ land service, therefore, they were reduced long
‘ before King *William*’s death, to an hundred men
‘ in a company; and in 1702, the marines that
‘ were then raised, consisted but of sixty men in a
‘ company; whereas, by the estimate upon our
‘ table, if I may have leave to mention an estimate
‘ not yet read in the house, the marines now to
‘ be raised, are to consist of seventy men in a
‘ company, which is the highest number that, as
‘ all experienced officers say, any company of foot
‘ ought to consist of.

‘ Lastly, Sir, as to the private men, of which
‘ this body of marines is to be composed, I must
‘ think, his Majesty is the best judge, whether
‘ they ought to be all new-raised men or old sol-
‘ diers, or partly one and partly the other; be-
‘ cause he knows best, what service they are to
‘ be sent upon, and when they are to be sent.
‘ If they are not to be sent out till four or five
‘ months after they are raised, it does not signify
‘ much, whether they be all new-raised men or
‘ no, because, in that time, they will be pretty
‘ well disciplined; especially if they are to be sent
‘ to the *West-Indies*, because they will have no
‘ enemy to encounter there, but the militia of
‘ the country, or some of the worst of the *Span-
‘ nish* troops; for whatever we may do, I am
‘ confident, the *Spaniards* will keep their best
‘ troops at home, to defend their mother coun-
‘ try. If the private men should be all draughted
‘ out of the regiments now in our service, it
‘ would

‘ would be a loss rather than a saving to the na-
‘ tion ; because an equal number of recruits must
‘ be immediately raised, for compleating those re-
‘ giments, from which the marines are draught-
‘ ed ; and, as it will be more difficult to find re-
‘ cruits for marching regiments than for marines,
‘ we must give a greater reward for inlisting.
‘ Thus, if we chuse the cheapest way of forming
‘ a body of marines, we must take as many new-
‘ raised men as his Majesty may think consistent
‘ with the service upon which he is to send them ;
‘ and, I am sure, it will be the quickest ; for
‘ a great many fellows that called themselves sea-
‘ men, have been rejected or turned out of our
‘ men of war, because they were found not to be
‘ expert seamen, nor any way fit for their busi-
‘ ness. These men will all immediately list as ma-
‘ rines, and will make good marines, though
‘ they could not be accepted of as good seamen ;
‘ for though a captain of a man of war, after he
‘ has got a sufficient number of expert seamen on
‘ board his ship, may accept of able-bodied land-
‘ men, or seamen, that are not expert in their busi-
‘ ness, in order to make up his full complement,
‘ yet the regulating captains could accept of very
‘ few but expert seamen, because they could not
‘ know how they were to be disposed of ; and
‘ by accepting of too many land-men, or unskilful
‘ seamen, such a number of them might, by ac-
‘ cident, have been put on board one of our ships
‘ of war, as might have been the cause of losing
‘ the ship.

‘ Upon this occasion, Sir, I must desire, that
‘ gentlemen would consider, which of the two
‘ services, the publick or the merchant service,
‘ ought, in time of publick danger, to be pre-
‘ ferred. As we do not in time of peace keep a
‘ number of seamen in pay, sufficient for manning
‘ our

‘ our navy in time of war, when a war first
‘ breaks out, the publick service must be neg-
‘ lected, or the merchant-service must be dis-
‘ tressed. This is a consequence which it is im-
‘ possible to avoid, any way, but by keeping in
‘ continual pay such a number of seamen, as may
‘ be near sufficient to man the most numerous
‘ fleet we may have occasion to fit out in time of
‘ war; and until this is done, I am sure, every
‘ gentleman that has a true regard for his coun-
‘ try, will chuse to have a short stop or interrup-
‘ tion put to our trade, rather than to have our
‘ whole exposed to imminent danger, by not
‘ fitting out such a number of men of war as
‘ may be sufficient for our defence.

‘ I hope, I have now shewn, Sir, that were
‘ the advice, proposed to be given by this ad-
‘ dress, in itself right, it would be wrong in us
‘ to give it without a more mature deliberation;
‘ and, I hope, I have likewise shewn, that it ap-
‘ pears to be wrong in every particular. I am
‘ sure, no gentleman that thinks I am right in
‘ either of these cases, can give his affirmative to
‘ the question; and I shall think myself very un-
‘ lucky, if the majority of this house should
‘ think I am wrong in both. As for the decla-
‘ matory excursions that have been made about
‘ the alarm given to the people by the great num-
‘ ber of officers, civil and military, we have at pre-
‘ sent, and about the danger our liberties and con-
‘ stitution may be exposed to by corrupt practices,
‘ they may be, and I find they are introduced into
‘ every debate; but as it would be an endless task
‘ to answer them upon every occasion, all I shall
‘ say to them upon this, is, that we are here in
‘ the proper place for inquiring into such things:
‘ If any gentleman knows of an unnecessary of-
‘ fice that has been lately set up, or an unne-
‘ cessary

‘ cessary officer appointed ; if any gentleman knows
‘ of any attack that has been lately made, or at-
‘ tempted, upon our constitution ; or if any gen-
‘ tleman knows of any corrupt practices lately in-
‘ troduced, or made use of ; he may, nay, as a
‘ member of this house, which is the grand in-
‘ quest of the nation, he is in duty bound to
‘ take notice of it to the house ; but then he
‘ ought to be particular : He ought to name the
‘ office or officer set up or appointed, the attack
‘ that has been attempted, or the corrupt practice
‘ that has been made use of ; and he ought to
‘ move for an inquiry into what he finds fault
‘ with ; for by thus declaiming in general, he
‘ can do no service to his country, he can give
‘ the house no information, nor correct any abuse.
‘ He does nothing but take up the time of this
‘ house most unnecessarily ; for he cannot expect
‘ that such general declamations, though they
‘ may please the galleries, should have an influence
‘ upon any gentleman that has the honour of be-
‘ ing a member of the house ; and much less can
‘ he expect their having such an influence in this
‘ question, where the vigorous prosecution of the
‘ war is at stake, than in any question of a diffe-
‘ rent nature that can come before us.’

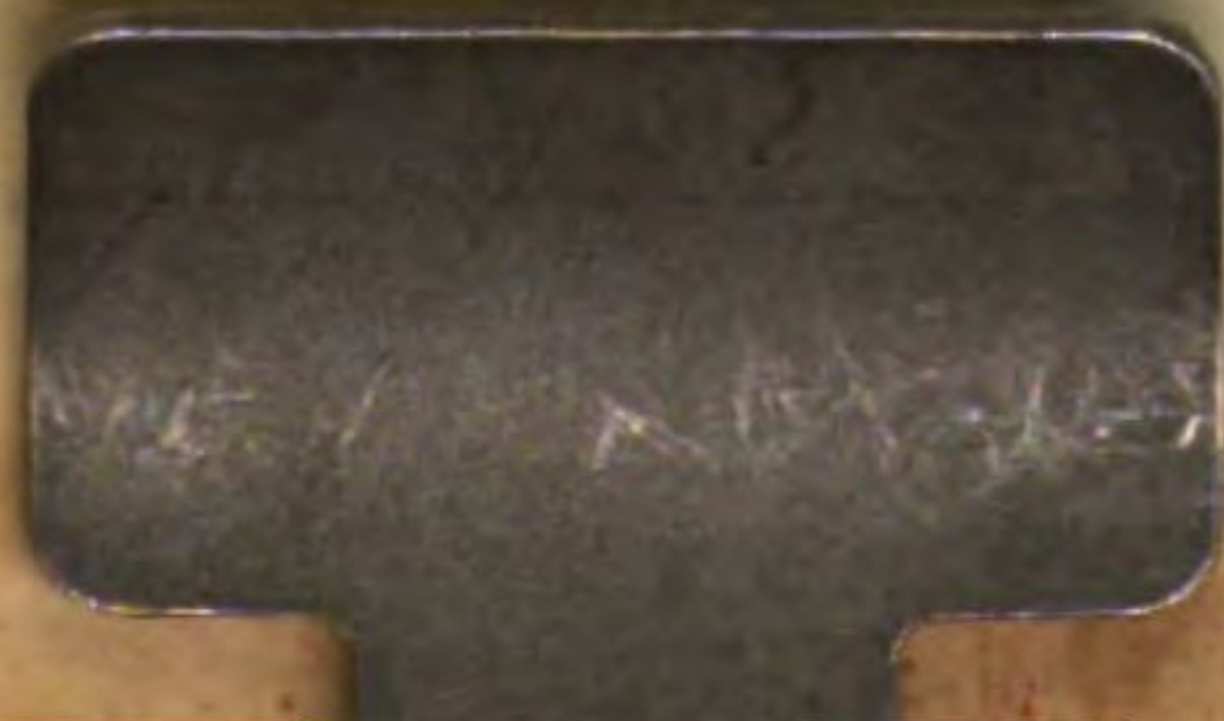
The question being put, it was, upon a divi-
sion, carried in the negative ; noes 177, yeas 95.

The End of the EIGHTEENTH VOLUME.

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A Collection Of The Parliamentary Debates In England From The Year M,DC,
LXVIII. To the present Time

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